THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOL. XXI.—OCTOBER, 1896.—No. 84.

THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT AND THE EDUCATION PROBLEM.

NO fact was more striking in recent years than the overwhelming victory of the Tory party at the last general election in Great Britain. Reinforced by the Liberal-Unionist vote, Lord Salisbury's government has been numerically the strongest we have seen in England in our day. By itself the Tory branch of it was able to outvote any possible combination of antagonists. Even should the Liberal-Unionists mutiny and coalesce with Liberals and Irish Nationalists, the rock of Toryism was impregnable. Yet this invulnerable parliamentary combination has found that big battalions are not able to command success. As Bonaparte found he could not sit upon bayonets, so Lord Salisbury has discovered that he cannot resolve spiritual and intellectual problems by the automatic voting machine method. His failure is the most remarkable event of the kind ever recorded.

To understand the causes of this failure it is necessary to survey the general policy of the English government, as a continuous piece of political machinery, for the period since the merging of the English and Irish legislatures. Unification was the ostensible object of the fusion. Abolition of racial and political distinctions, identification of commercial and industrial interests, effacement of sectarian differences, were the glittering mirages held up by the act of union before the eyes of the world as the laudable ends in view. But time has proved the hollowness of the pretences. In no single department of administration were the systems of England and Ireland assimilated. Every step in reform gained by the English people, and always with the help of Irish

votes, yielded its fruits in Ireland only in the most inadequate and niggardly way. The local government acts for England and Scotland, by which every locality in those countries got its own resources completely under its own control, for its own benefit, were carried largely by Irish help; yet when the time came for the repayment of the debt by the people benefited, Ireland was left in the lurch. She is to this hour ruled by the English bureau in Dublin Castle, and cannot control a penny of her own taxation. It was in this spirit of sinister differentiation that the Salisbury government approached the great item in their Parliamentary programme, the education problem, and it was in accordance with the principle of suitability in retribution that the first repulse of the ministry took place over the Irish branch of that momentous problem.

This policy of differentiation was steadily pursued in all great questions of reform, even in the education acts. When a compulsory law was passed for Great Britain, Ireland was omitted from its operation. But the reason for that omission did not lie in any deference to the wish of the majority in Ireland. It was simply because the difficulty of enforcing a compulsory law appeared then to be insuperable. Since that time the conditions appear to have undergone a change for the better. The new bill introduced by the government this year provided for the application of the compulsory principle, but differed from their English measure in a most vital point. It omitted to provide a "conscience clause," whereby the religious convictions of parents would be respected in the public schools. Other flaws there were, but this was a flagrant one. As a result, the bill is lost. The Irish bishops lost no time in meeting and discussing it, and they felt it their duty to forward their decided *non possumus* to the government. How it came to pass that any English minister, with ordinary experience on the subject, could make the mistake of hoping to succeed in such a measure with a hierarchy, a clergy and a people so resolute in matters of religion and education as the Irish, is not a little puzzling.

Here was the first failure of the big battalions. The official mind most unaccountably falls very often under the influence of some strange glamor in the study of this question. It appears to be afflicted with an organic incapacity to get below the surface of statistics or depart from cut-and-dried methods of investigation. Even our own painstaking and acute commissioner of education, Mr. Harris, seems to have missed the great lessons of the Irish educational struggle, and to have been deceived by the smooth surface of official reports. In his report on the National System in Ireland for 1890–91, he takes the explanation of the founder of

the system, Lord Stanley—the "scorpion Stanley" of O'Connell—as perfectly unimpeachable and reassuring. At the time of the organization of the Irish system, he reports: "It was necessary to allay the jealousies which had existed by previous attempts to force Protestant schools upon a population overwhelmingly Catholic. To this end a formal declaration was made on the part of the government that its purpose was to superintend a system of education from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism, and which, admitting children of all religious persuasions, should not interfere with the peculiar tenets of any." How beautifully language can be made to conceal men's thoughts! Archbishop Whateley was, while Lord Stanley was engaged in penning these soothing and statesmanlike explanations, exercising his profoundly logical mind in the devising of a code of lessons calculated, as he confided to his secret memoranda, to uproot the ancient faith of the Irish, and destroy the last vestiges of the Roman Catholic religion in their minds. If Mr. Harris had read that eminent prelate's life and letters, as given by his daughter, he would hardly have penned the sentences which follow: "The sincerity of the government with respect to this purpose was evidenced in the construction of the board, which comprised eminent representatives of both Catholic and Protestant churches, and in placing under their control all matters affecting the subject of religious instruction. They were directed to separate literary and moral from religious instruction, and to remit the latter to the clergy."

Extremely innocent, highly commendable, this purpose seemed to many an inquirer beside our unsuspecting commissioner. But the facts give a different story. Mixed education was the euphuism for an education in which the facts of Catholic history were to be doctored and the history of Ireland entirely blotted out. This was the thin end of the wedge. The establishment of the "Godless colleges," a little while subsequently, was intended to drive it home.

The inner history of the Irish National Board has not yet been written; we only get a glimpse of it through these letters of Archbishop Whateley's. When the subject is sufficiently ancient, no doubt some further light will be thrown on it by the State papers in the Birmingham Tower of Dublin Castle. But from the outer history accessible to us by the light of Archbishop Whateley's naïve admission, we can form our own conclusions. Some portions of that history, as we find it unfolded by the late Sir Patrick Keenan before the Royal Commission of 1887, are extremely suggestive. Sir Patrick Keenan, it ought to be said in advance, while a model official, was also a most discreet one. As Resident Com-

missioner of National Education in Ireland, he knew the whole arcana of the office, so far as the doings of the National Board, *quà* board, were concerned. To every question asked him on this subject by the late Cardinal Manning and other members of the commission, he gave exactly the replies that showed how strictly the Irish National Board conformed to its instructions and its *rôle*, and how strictly the executive portion of the education machinery conformed to the decisions of the board. Yet from these admirably-framed answers we may glean some useful knowledge. The composition of the National Board itself, for instance, and the many modifications it gradually underwent, are suggestive. When the board was originally constituted—that is, in the year 1831—it consisted of seven members. These were the Duke of Leinster, Archbishop Whateley, and Rev. Dr. Sadlier, Protestants; Archbishop Murray and Mr. Blake, Roman Catholics; Mr. Carlisle, Presbyterian, and Mr. Holmes, Unitarian. At the time this proportion was arranged the population of the country was, properly speaking, about seven and a half millions, of whom four-fifths were Roman Catholics. The head of the board, under its charter, was the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for the time being. By law this functionary could not be a Roman Catholic; and the same law gave him the power of nominating and removing the Roman Catholic members of the board, as well as the rest; hence it will be seen that the Protestant minority in Ireland had no grievance on the score of inadequate representation on the Irish National Board. By degrees these proportions were gradually altered, but not to the extent that the conditions demanded, until the Irish press took courage to challenge the composition of the board and denounce its insidious policy. At length it was conceded that the ends of policy and equity would be best met by the formation of a board of twenty members, half Roman Catholics and half non-Catholics. We can only deplore the oversight which prevented the production of the various text-books issued by the Irish National Board during its half-century of existence, before this Royal Commission, as a grievous loss to the cause of truth.

But whatever the National Board of the past in its great wisdom intended, it is now generally conceded, that the whole grand design of the "system" has been a magnificent failure. The country, no doubt, is dotted all over with "national" schools, but the administration of these has become virtually denominational. The "combined literary and separate religious instruction" feature of the original design has all but entirely disappeared, not through any want of will or perseverance in the attempt to carry it out, but from the sheer force of local circumstances.

Sir Patrick Keenan gave some singularly interesting statistics

on this point in the course of his examination. At the period when he spoke, there were 3168 schools attended exclusively by Catholics, with Catholic teachers, in Ireland; and there were 809 non-Catholic schools, attended solely by non-Catholics. The "mixed" schools taught by Catholics, with a minority of Protestant pupils, numbered 2714. The minority amounted only to 5.6 per cent. of the whole attendance. Under Protestant teachers the mixed schools numbered 1228, and the Catholic minority amounted to 13.5 per cent. Besides these there were 77 schools where the teachers were of both denominations, and 52.9 per cent. of the pupils in these were Catholics. Thus it will be seen that the relative proportions of the respective religious denominations in the country reflect themselves pretty accurately in the settling down of the schools upon the old lines, and that what the Irish bishops, clergy and people have all along contended for, with the strenuous stubbornness of indefeasible right, the principle of religious training on the denominational basis, has triumphed despite the machinations of astute archbishops and hostile governments and often too pliant Catholic commissioners.

We are familiar with the reproach that the spread of education is not desired by the Catholic hierarchy. Of no other country has the puerile slander been so often asseverated as of Ireland. Is it not strange to find that, if the Catholic bishops had had their way, compulsory education would have been the law four years ago, and that the reason why it is not the law is that the Protestant English government blocks the way? Yet such is the fact. The bishops unanimously declared in favor of the principle at the time the law was being enacted for Great Britain, but it was only after the lapse of four years that the government made up its mind to apply the compulsory provisions of the law. And when Mr. Gerald Balfour, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, made the effort at last, he clogged his bill with such conditions as made it certain of rejection. He would give no "conscience clause" to the Irish people, and he offered the long-suffering Christian Brothers such flagrantly unfair terms of public aid, as to leave them still at an enormous disadvantage as compared with other teaching bodies. In these two circumstances alone there was ground enough for an unfavorable reception of the governmental proposals, but there were certain concomitant facts which rendered the proposals not only objectionable but insulting to the whole Catholic people, clerical and lay. In the first place there was the contemptuous rejection of the recommendation of the National Board itself in favor of a free measure; next there was a niggardly and reluctant recognition of the claims of the Christian Brothers; then there was an avowal that were it not for the

obstacles placed in the way of compulsory education by local authorities because of the scandalous discrimination against the Christian Brothers, even this partial recognition would never have been heard of; and lastly, there was the ingenuous avowal that while the government were making a move towards religious education in England, they were determined on maintaining the fiction of non-religious education in Ireland. Cynical indifference to the opinion of Ireland has been a tradition of the Irish Chief Secretaryship from the death of Drummond down to the advent of Morley. Morley himself, partial as he was to the political claims of Ireland, was as adamant on the question of justice to the Christian Brothers; but, determined secularist as he was, he would never have the hardihood to deny to Ireland what his chief was offering at the very same moment in England and asking the support of the Irish representatives, as friends of religious education, in passing it.

Still Mr. Balfour may find an excuse for exposing his colleagues in the ministry to the charge of glaring inconsistency. The relations of men and institutions in Ireland to a controlling outside force often lead to singular paradoxes. Is it not a little curious to find that some of the very class who are now clamoring for religious instruction in England joined in the past with their fellows in Ireland in an effort to maintain non-religious education there? A good many years ago, when there was some rumor of an intention on the part of the government to drop the training institutions known as Model Schools in Ireland, the bishops and lay magnificoes of "the United Churches of England and Ireland" got together and prepared a memorial praying for the maintenance of united secular education in Ireland. This document was signed by 2754 prominent members of these now dissevered and somewhat moribund establishments. Their own stability was no more assured than the system of which they were so much enamored. The march of events has been in a direction surely never dreamed of in their philosophy.

All through this protracted struggle for the schoolmaster in Ireland the attitude and action of the Christian Brothers commands the warmest admiration. Never for a moment did they cease to hold aloft the pure torch of faith and patriotism. With them the inculcation of Catholic doctrine and the teaching of Irish history went hand-in-hand with the unfolding of secular knowledge. The state offered them the bribe of a *per capita* grant if they would cease to teach history and take down the cross and religious picture and be silent on the subject of religion. Again and again was the offer renewed, but the Brothers returned each time an unfaltering "No surrender." Then the state moderated its terms, asking

the Brothers merely to remove the religious emblems from their walls as the sole condition of receiving their just dues, but the Brothers still stood firm. Their claims to State aid for the mere secular work done were again and again pressed upon the House of Commons and the government, but successive ministries doggedly declined to recognize them as long as the obnoxious emblems were exhibited. Even Mr. John Morley, large-minded and just though he be, would never give way on this subject. This inexcusable injustice, being no longer possible of maintenance, since it was proposed to give State aid to voluntary schools in respect of the lay instruction they supply, the government essayed to remedy in a very characteristic way. They proposed that the Christian Brothers receive out of the public rate for education ten shillings per head per annum for each pupil passing examination, while the amount asked for voluntary schools of other denominations was twenty-seven shillings and six pence per head! It is not strange, under these circumstances, that people living in Ireland cannot believe that the penal laws against the Catholic religion are altogether matters of past history.

If the element of simple justice were only recognized in the case, the claims of the Christian Brothers would not be limited to mere equality of treatment. Looking at their work from the hard standpoint of practical results, they have deserved better of the State than any other class of educational agencies. They have trained more successful pupils for the intermediate passes than any other teachers. As the State admits its interest in these results by paying for them, it is surely logical that those who organize the victory deserve the substantial reward, at least in some proportional degree. If the advantage be all around, it is manifestly unjust that the educator be denied his due share. A body which has again and again demonstrated the superiority of its pedagogic methods deserves not merely the encouragement of equality in awards, but generous recognition of its superiority.

For the present the question of elementary education in Ireland rests where it was before this abortive attempt at legislation, but the subject will soon be heard of again. What is the position in the realm of higher education? Here the Catholics of Ireland are at a disadvantage so great as to be impossible of redress by the ordinary processes of fiscal readjustment. Something like a revolution would be needed to level their position up to that of the Protestants, as it was by something like a revolution the University of Dublin was founded. But as the age of confiscations, such as those out of which the university sprung, is over, the Catholics can scarcely ever hope to possess an institution like Trinity College, with its vast estates, its splendid buildings and its

noble library. Generations of men have come and gone since it began to be hoped this justice might at last be done by way of atonement, but no British Government has been found as yet so large-minded as to propose it. Nor does Trinity itself seem likely to attempt a solution of the difficulty. Although a few of the bars against Catholics have been removed, in spirit and administration the institution is as strongly Protestant as it was in the beginning.

Trinity College derives its revenues mainly from land. It had its origin in the spoils taken from the Irish and Spanish armies after the disastrous battle of Kinsale; and the subsequent confiscations in Munster and Ulster, under Elizabeth and James, brought it rich slices of territory. Before the outbreak of the late land agitation its revenues from this source alone were about a hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. The amount received in fees swelled this revenue to an immense sum. All the years the Protestant minority was enjoying this splendid heritage, the Catholic gentry who wished to have their sons educated for the learned professions were obliged to send them abroad. This was the state of affairs for the laity from the "Reformation" period down to the days of Sir Robert Peel. That statesman's famous six-days' tour through Ireland on a jaunting-car convinced him that the Catholic religion might be better attacked from the top in Ireland than by striking at the root. A system of colleges in which religion was to have no recognition or mention was the idea which he conceived as likely, if realized, to produce in process of time a weakening of the faith among the upper classes in Ireland, or at least an indifference or an agnosticism, which must in the long run react upon the lower classes by force of precept and example. The indignant denunciation of these colleges—named Queen's Colleges because of the visit of Queen Victoria to Ireland two years after the famine had done its work there—by the great Archbishop McHale of Tuam, was the first great blow to the unholy scheme. The archbishop's policy was strongly opposed, even by some of his venerable brethren in the hierarchy, but it was in the end effectual. Though the colleges are still maintained, their classes are gradually dwindling away, and the crop of agnostics they have produced is by no means commensurate with the outlay. "I do not know that there is any such element in Irish society as a body without religion" was the answer given by Sir Patrick Keenan before the Royal Commission, when questioned by Dr. Dale, one of its members, as to the non-representation of the agnostic element on the National Board. Long ago the government confessed the failure of the Queen's colleges by the establishment of the intermediate system and the Royal University. At

times individual members of the government have gone so far in the other direction as to enter into *pourparlers* with the Catholic hierarchy about the endowment of a Catholic university, but the result usually proved that this pretended liberality had a good deal to do with party politics.

As the field stands at present, there is simply a break in the struggle. Victory, so far, rests with the Irish forces. Nothing more can be done during the present session of Parliament, but the champions of religious education have strong grounds for hope of success in the final issue of the struggle.

In historical importance there is no such interest pertaining to the English Education Bill as in the case of Ireland. It is the fortune of Ireland, for good or for evil, to be the theatre for the testing of vital principles, in the spiritual no less than in the moral and material world. She has set the pace in many things—liberation of conscience, purification of trial by jury, liberation of the soil, electoral reform, freedom of the press. To every one of these great human interests she has furnished her martyrs, and by their suffering secured the benefit of mankind at large. And now she has fired the flame of religious education which we find burning so promisingly in England to-day. In the case of that country there is no such historical continuity in the public school system as we find in Scotland. The "Reformation" there made one grand sweep of everything, practically speaking—churches, schools, monasteries where alms were given to the poor, all the resources of religion and education and humanity; whereas in Scotland the "reformers" were wise enough to keep intact the splendid network of school machinery established by the Church and with the aid of the much-abused Stuart kings. From that period down to the beginning of our own era education in England was left to take care of itself, so far as the government was concerned. In the year 1833 it seems to have dawned upon the mind of some legislator that it was part of the functions of a State to afford help to the schoolmaster, and a sum of a hundred thousand dollars was asked for and given for the purpose of providing school-buildings. Then the nation seemed to sleep over the matter for a period nearly twice the length of the legendary Rip van Winkle's slumber. The late Mr. W. E. Forster first came into prominence as an advocate of enlightened methods in education. A parliamentary committee was, on his initiation, appointed to inquire into the condition of the public school system in England, and the result was the passing of an education act which was then deemed sufficient for the requirements of the occasion and adapted to the wants and wishes of the people at large. Two years later a similar act was passed for the benefit of Scotland; and it is well to note how dif-

ferent was the spirit in which the question was approached by Parliament, when dealing with that country, from that in which the education of Irish youth was dealt with. Every care was taken for the preservation of the "Scottish ideal." That is to say, not only was nothing done to wound the national pride, but every concession was made that was likely to foster the idea that Scotland was not a subject state, but a really integral and co-partner portion of the British Kingdom. A separate Scotch Education Department was created, having the Lords of the Privy Council at its head, and represented in Parliament by its vice-president. The great features of the Scottish Bill were drawn, indeed, with a much more liberal hand than those of the English Bill. Unlike that measure, ample provision was made in the Scotch Act for the religious instruction of pupils. Discrimination of this remarkable character has long been a notable feature of English statesmanship in its dealing with the different portions of what is called the United Kingdom, and any consideration of modern historical developments and social conditions would be misleading and valueless unless this policy and its effects have been carefully noted.

It was not until 1870 that the English law for a uniform system of elementary education was passed, but before that time some tentative work had been done—work which cleared the ground for the erection of the larger edifice.

Since 1833 the practice of making parliamentary grants had been continued in a gradually increasing ratio, and a system of state inspectorship, with the object of seeing that the money was being properly expended and a fair amount of value given for it, had been established. We find a parliamentary commission inquiring into the subject in 1861. It was a period of awakening and anxiety. Trades unionism was in conflict with the law, for the law was all on the side of capital. A series of murders and other outrages perpetrated in Sheffield resulted in the interference of Parliament. A commission of inquiry, with power to condone crime on condition of confession, was established; and this commission disclosed many alarming features in the English social system, the outcome of dense ignorance on the part of the toiling masses and savage disregard of the rights of labor on the part of capitalists and the law. Other commissions followed the subject up, shedding a flood of light upon the wretched condition of the people in the mining and manufacturing districts, and showing millions of them to be, in regard either to the knowledge of God or the elements of morality and civilization, no better than the brute creation. Then, thoroughly alarmed at the state of facts disclosed, government began to act. On the initiation of the Duke of Newcastle, a commission of inquiry into the state of popular

education was instituted in 1861, and in due time presented its report. Its efficiency was felt to be much impaired by the fact that the government did not see fit to place a Roman Catholic representative upon it, yet even with this drawback it elicited some very suggestive information. It revealed the fact that even at that time there was in existence a large Roman Catholic minority in England—of Irish nativity or descent for the most part—and that that minority displayed a zeal for the acquisition of knowledge far beyond its numerical proportion to the rest of the people, or its share in the national wealth.

The percentage of Catholic children who paid the lowest rate of school fee, *i.e.*, a penny per week, was found to be 65.93, as against 37.3 for the children registered as of the Church of England and 17.57 for Protestant dissenters. That is to say, in proportion to their respective numbers, the Catholics who refused to take an entirely gratuitous education outnumbered, combined, the English sects, in their own country, by a very considerable majority. There were on the school rolls at this period, putting week-day schools, evening schools and Sunday schools together, a total of 129,737 Roman Catholic pupils. Religious instruction was given in the different schools, according to the denomination to which they belonged, but the secular idea seems to have been gradually pushing its way, helped on, we are entitled to think, by the reports of inspectors more or less indifferent or agnostic, and certainly hostile to Catholicism. Here is a very suggestive passage from the statement of Mr. Forster, embodied in the report of this commission (p. 322):

"The efforts of the teachers whom I met with appeared directed chiefly to the facts of Scripture history, stimulated hereto by the usual tenor of the inspector's examination. A Roman Catholic lady, writing about a school under her management, which she wished me to see, and describing the religious instruction there given as devotional and practical, remarked, in passing, that it did not consist, as in the Protestant schools, of inculcating the exact number of kings that reigned in Israel, or the precise names of Jacob's sons. The animadversion was, I believe, strictly just. Whatever may be the repetition of forms, the real teaching is for the most part neither devotional nor doctrinal nor practical, but historical, embracing chiefly the facts and names and numbers recorded in the sacred text. An inspector explained to me that his reason for asking minute questions of this sort was, that if he found the children acquainted with these minutiæ he inferred a general knowledge of Scripture truth. Whether he is right or not, this practice in inspection gives the direction to the daily teaching of the schools."

Up to this time the policy mainly followed by the government had been to recognize local authority in education, but insisting on the standard of efficiency in secular branches required by the central authority as a condition of receiving State help. All this was changed by the operation of Mr. Forster's Act of 1870. A

complete system of non-religious education was provided throughout the country. The local authorities were bound, by the terms of the law, to apply no religious test whatsoever to children, and permitted any child to be withdrawn from school when religious instruction was given, if the parents so desired. The central authority was the Education Department, with the Lord President of the Council at its head—a functionary with a place in Parliament to look after the interests of his important office and bear the responsibility of its action when challenged. Under the control of the department is a force of 107 inspectors, 45 sub-inspectors, and 152 assistant inspectors. Over all these is a staff of 10 chief inspectors, and for the convenience of the inspection the country is divided into ten great districts.

In the year 1891 the enrolled scholars at all classes of schools in England and Wales numbered 4,833,329, and of these nearly one-half were on the registers of the Board Schools. A total of 47,823 certificated teachers were in charge, together with 23,508 assistants and 28,231 pupil teachers. The school fabrics numbered 19,649. The teachers in the Board Schools are strictly prohibited from imparting any particular religious formularies, while those in the Voluntary Schools got their pittance from the State on the condition that the "conscience clause" be operative in their schools during the periods of religious instruction.

Prior to the establishment of this system by far the greater proportion of the educational work of the country had been done by Voluntary Schools. The gradual falling-off in the voluntary system since the School Board began to enter into competition with it may be regarded as the main cause which has brought about the present crisis in the educational realm in England. Broadly speaking, the Board Schools are the refuge of the secularist and agnostic element of society in England and Wales, and the voluntary ones formed the rampart of the religious sentiment. We are entitled to assume that the State had no design of helping the cause of secularism or agnosticism by setting up the system of Board Schools, but only desired to act impartially. But the provisions which it made for the working of those agencies were such as to bear unfavorably upon the teaching power and the attendance of the Voluntary Schools, and when the position of the teaching staffs of these latter places became insupportable by comparison with their formidable rivals, they naturally appealed to the government for relief. Lord Salisbury, whatever his views on other subjects, has a decided leaning toward religion in education; and he gave, when approached, much encouragement to the complainants. Mr. Balfour, whose excursions into the region of speculative philosophy have made him a convert to semi-Chris-

tianity, expressed himself still more emphatically on the need of assistance to the tottering voluntary system.

It was very far from the thoughts of the late Mr. W. E. Forster, the deviser of the existing law on education, we may well assume, to banish religion from the mind of youth. He was an earnest, conscientious man, according to his lights, but in his anxiety for the rights of unbelievers he proved himself to be far more careful than in respect for the liberties of the Irish people or the principles of the British Constitution. By his tenderness for the scruples of infidels he provided such safeguards for their feelings as tended directly to the preservation and spread of infidelity. Bearing in mind the fact that the law on school attendance is compulsory, that provision of it which relates to the marking of the attendance-registers is a vital one for the interests of religion. A series of Returns bearing on this subject are appended to the official Report on the Education Commission. From these we find that while it is compulsory on the teachers to keep such a register, it is optional whether the pupils' names be marked on it before or after the period allotted for religious instruction—optional with the particular school board or the particular teacher. This is in accordance with the aim of the famous "conscience clause" in Mr. Forster's act. The children who absented themselves from school during the half-hour when such instruction was being given were the very children who stood most in need of every influence, religious and moral, which could be made effectual in counteracting the pernicious example of ignorant and demoralized parents and vicious surroundings. It appears to have been the desire of a section of the commission to take an optimistic view of the result of this policy, as in the report of the majority we find stress laid upon the returns relative to its practical operation. A series of returns are quoted. Return A, for instance, shows that in 318 Board Schools the registers were marked *after* the religious lessons had been disposed of; in 33 of the schools no religious instruction was imparted; and in 103 religious instruction was encroached upon (presumably in order to devote the time to secular subjects) before the governmental inspections. From another table (Return D) it was ascertained that in 320 departments—that is, branches of schools under head teachers—no religious instruction was given; in 1013 religious instruction was encroached upon previous to governmental inspection, and in 2344 the registers were marked *after* the religious instruction was over. Granting that these figures bear a small proportion to the entire showing with regard to religious instruction and the working of the conscience clause, nevertheless they indicated a most disquieting condition of things at the time the evidence was given. Since then

the downward tendency seems to have been much accelerated. The spread of agnosticism among teachers is a most alarming symptom. So great has been the increase of this moral mildew, both among teachers and scholars, that it appears to the Catholic hierarchy in England as a certain presage of the final extinction of Christianity in the island. That venerable body, in pronouncing on the government's bill, put on record its solemn belief that if this decay in faith be not arrested, another generation may witness the work of Augustine and his successors in England undone, and the relapse of the country into heathenism.

It might have been thought that any proposal of legislation likely to check this downward course would have met with the support of churchmen of whatever denomination. The Roman Catholic bishops lost no time in voicing their approval of the principle of the education bill, while pointing out its glaring shortcomings. But the bishops of the English Establishment, who represent the vast bulk of the Voluntary Schools, and who, therefore, ought to feel the deepest interest in the measure, displayed no unanimity over it. Ten bishops of the northern dioceses adopted resolutions in convocation commending the principle of the bill; but no sooner was their manifesto issued than the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London came out with a counter-declaration. To the latter-named prelate the experiment of granting State aid impartially to all schools coming up to the standard in secular education, while parents had a voice in the religious teaching, appeared, as he expressed it, getting on "a slippery slope." The Archbishop of Canterbury followed up this astonishing declaration by a speech at a meeting of the National Society, in which he boldly advocated the policy of *laissez faire* regarding the Voluntary Schools. If he had had the drafting of the bill, he went on, he would not give these schools another sixpence beyond the four-shilling rate now doled out to them. Where are we to look for an explanation of this extraordinary attitude on the part of two such prominent prelates as the Anglican primate and the bishop of the great metropolitan see?

The twenty-seventh clause of the education bill was the really cardinal proposition of the measure. It was revolutionary, as viewed from existing standpoints. The effect of the previous act was to centralize authority; this bill proposed to diffuse and transfer it. The locality not merely, but the community, even the group, became, under its provisions, the source of power. The clause ran thus:

"If the parents of a reasonable number of scholars attending an elementary school require that separate religious instruction be given their children, the managers shall, as far as practicable,

whether the religious instruction in the school is regulated by any trust, deed, scheme or other instrument, or not, permit reasonable arrangements to be made for allowing such religious instruction to be given, and shall not be precluded from doing so by the provisions of any such deed, scheme or instrument." The semblance of State control over the working of this popular engine was maintained by the further provision that the Education Department was entitled to determine what was really "reasonable and practicable" in all such references.

It is not difficult to understand why Nonconformists opposed such a proposal as this. Creed to such people is an abomination. Vagueness capable of conveying to the mind no tangible image consorts with their ideas of toleration. A morality based upon a sort of religious *mélange* fulfils their notions of spiritual training. It is this latitudinarianism which has led so many into the hopeless maze of infidelity, and it is to lessen its volume that so many Voluntary Schools are maintained. But it is evident from the action of these two exalted dignitaries of the Anglican Establishment that the spread of infidelity is looked on as a lesser evil than any degree of popular or parental control over the education of the children. Truly a remarkable revelation of state church policy!

The charge has been over and over repeated that the spirit of the Catholic Church will brook no exercise of authority by laymen in such affairs. Will any impartial observer compare the action of the Catholic hierarchy in England with that of these Protestant prelates, and tell us where the charge of narrow-mindedness lies? The Catholic bishops did not approve of the bill by any means unreservedly, nor did they approve of this particular clause unreservedly. But they received it as a recognition of the principle for which they have always contended—the right of the parent to control the religious training of his children. Sooner than give parents any voice in this matter—a matter for which they are responsible before God—the heads of a church which is said to represent the principle of revolt from a despotic and grasping ecclesiastical tyranny, ally themselves with the agnostics, the Jews, the freethinkers and the bearers of "the Nonconformist conscience," against a great progressive measure. It is little wonder that Lord Halifax and other distinguished laymen of the National Society drew a painful contrast between the action of these intolerant prelates and that of the Catholic bishops.

But there are many Anglicans who took a different view of the probable working of Clause 27. They saw in it a possible avenue of access to those Board Schools from which religion had heretofore been shut out, and they fondly hoped that there might be co-

operation between their own bishops and those of the Catholics in order to secure so desirable an end. If these forces could have been brought to join, they would have been, it was implicitly believed, literally invincible. Once the principle of financial equality had been conquered, they saw, in their mind's eye, besides, as a result of the levelling up of the efficiency of the Voluntary Schools —now pining away and losing their prestige in many places, for want of efficient teachers and proper teaching appliances—a transference of the Board School flocks to the Voluntary Schools. There was the strongest reason to hope for such a result. It was believed that, if a good fight were made, a share of the public rates could be secured for the Voluntary Schools, besides the parliamentary grant of four shillings which the bill proposed for both Voluntary and School Board pupils. Unless something like this were done, the Voluntary Schools must continue in a position of inferiority to the Board Schools, because of the superior advantages offered to teachers by the latter, and the superior apparatus for teaching provided in them. The position of very many of these voluntary schools, owing to precarious attendance, unreliability of resources and the want of self-respect, entailed by their semi-mendicant position, was pitiable, besides being humiliating to the cause of teaching.

But of all the voluntary schools, those of the Roman Catholics were by far the most to be commiserated. In England, the poorest section of the population are the Roman Catholics, and as a consequence the attendance of their children at school is lowest. In 1894, with a roll-list of 30,597, in London, the percentage of average attendance in Catholic schools was 75.16. In the Board Schools the percentage was, for the same year, 80.4. In the outlying districts things were very much worse. In Limehouse, for instance, the percentage of attendance for the same year was as low as 53.7. As the teachers' salaries depend on the attendance, to a very large extent, the significance of these low figures may be to some extent realized. The teacher of Limehouse earned for that year but fifteen shillings and seven pence for each scholar on his books, as a result of this low attendance, while his neighbor at Dulwich Board School received twenty-six shillings and a penny for each of his pupils. Low average attendance means more than mere financial loss to the teacher. It means a lowering of his professional status in the eyes of the unreasoning. When children attend irregularly at school, they naturally get behind in proficiency. They cannot keep up with the more regular scholars, and the putting back of pupils means the docking of the teacher's results' earnings by the inspector and an unfavorable mark against his school each time it occurs. No matter how able, zealous and

painstaking such a teacher may be, this is his portion, for there is no escaping the automatic working of the iron-bound system; for if the inspector failed in his duty in reporting what he found, he himself would be liable to censure and dismissal.

This instance from Limehouse is but one example out of hundreds. We may form some estimate of the magnitude of the grievance from the fact that it touches the conscience of such a thorough-going foe of denominational education as Mr. Leonard Courtney. In a letter to the London *Times* that eminent Parliamentarian made this confession: "I am myself a friend of undenominational education. I recognize in the teaching of the Board Schools an adequate presentment of piety and doctrine. But I know I cannot claim the assent of all men, perhaps not even a majority, for this view; and though my own desire would be for the continued growth and spreading of common schools, I cannot but admit the wrongfulness of attempting to impose upon my fellow-citizens the burden of supporting schools which they honestly believe to be the seed-plots of terrible mischief, and to which they cannot suffer their children to resort." The hon. gentleman's admission elicited a reply from the mouth-piece of the obnoxious system, the "School Board Chronicle," which proves that it is not merely a monetary wrong that the Catholics of England must continue to suffer, but a moral outrage. It is the Roman Catholic schools, retorts this organ, which are really regarded by conscientious parents as "the seed-plots of terrible mischief." Here we have the true animus of the Board School system, and the drift and direction of that "presentment of piety and doctrine" which Mr. Courtney regards as sufficient. To force Catholics to pay rates for the support of schools where hatred of Catholic teaching is the unavowed but understood spirit of its preparation of "piety and doctrine," is a bitter superaddition to the injury in purse inflicted upon the unhappy rate payer. There are 2,310,253 children on the rolls of the Board Schools, and of these some not inconsiderable proportion, we have reason to believe, are of Catholic parentage. They are absolutely precluded by the law from receiving any definite religious instruction. They must be content with the state preparation which stands as a substitute. It cannot but be that many of the minds thus imbued with non-doctrinal formulas and pious, meaningless saws must in time lapse into downright infidelity.

One valuable lesson has been derived from the discussion over the abortive measure. We now learn what is the true inwardness of Nonconformity. In its opposition to Catholic claims and denominational teaching it allies itself openly with the secularist and agnostic sections of the Radical party. The rage of the Non-

conformists because of the Irish Nationalist members giving their support to the bill found characteristic expression in the declaration of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes that the Irish party must look for no more support for Home Rule from that quarter. It was a silly speech, revealing a shallow mind. The Irish party could not have adopted any other course consistently with conscience or common sense. They are not under any obligation to barter their consciences for any political advantages. Very many of the children affected by the bill were the children of Irish Catholic parents. They were demanding for the Catholics of Ireland the same rights which the bill sought to confer upon the English people. The tenets of Nonconformity—whatever these be—do not seem to help to clearness of mental vision.

Happily, not all of the body are so carried away by unreasoning anger as the section led by Rev. Mr. Hughes. Mr. John Morley may be taken—though perhaps not a Nonconformist in the strict sense of the term—as an exponent of a school whose aims and views tend in the same direction. He has opposed the Education Bill on principle, yet he does not share the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Hughes and his section regarding the Irish vote. Speaking at Manchester, a little while ago, he declared that had the Irish not voted in accordance with the dictates of their conscience in this matter, they would not have won the respect of honest men. Mr. Gladstone's leadership, he had hoped, had resulted in teaching Englishmen to judge of the political action of Irishmen fairly and reasonably. The violent outburst of the Rev. Mr. Hughes must have convinced him that this view of the matter was a little too sanguine.

A strong government without the courage of its convictions and its strength is a pitiful spectacle. At no time in modern history has an English ministry acted in so eccentric a manner as the present one with regard to this vital question. It is idle to attribute the abandonment of the two education bills to the power or tactics of the Opposition. Much of the heap of amendments proposed to it came from the government side of the house. The parliamentary machine for dealing with obstruction of an unreasonable kind was in good working order, and the speaker had cleared the way by ruling out batches of amendments whose object was covered by some of the leading propositions in more important *bona fide* ones. Mr. Gladstone's retreat from the Boer war was not more inexplicable than Mr. Balfour's surrender before a vastly inferior enemy. The only rational explanation of the collapse appears to be the element of personal character in the ministry. In its whole composition there is not one man of the fibre of the great Liberal leader now unfortunately out of the fight.

The element of noble enthusiasm which he brought to any great cause, once he made up his mind to espouse it, is a gift not ordinarily bestowed upon leaders of the Tory party. In Mr. Balfour it is notoriously lacking. His language and deportment in public life lead distinctly to the belief that public life is to him a rather disagreeable duty and the cares of office a bore. The ministry had lost heart, for in almost everything to which it had put its hand it had met with defeat and humiliation. Something like demoralization had apparently set in, not amongst the rank and file of the army, but at the headquarters. But how this was to be remedied by the infliction of self-humiliation could be apparent only to the reasoning of dazed and despairing intellects.

We are more concerned with the practical question, What next? however, than with the causes of the mysterious collapse. Mr. Balfour has promised that he will not desert the voluntary schools, but it is not easy to see how he can come to their aid for a very considerable period. Nothing can be done, certainly, this year, and the luckless schools must struggle on haphazard as best they can. He might have got the house to assent to a temporary measure of relief in this regard, leaving the more revolutionary portions of the bill, such as the decentralization proposals, over until the reintroduction of the whole measure next year, or he might have secured a temporary grant from the treasury for the purpose. With the large majority at his command some plan of that kind could easily have been rushed through the House of Commons, and the upper house would hardly oppose such a measure. Failure to do the right thing in either case plainly implies unfitness to govern. Every element in the situation points to the square peg in the round hole theory. A change of leadership seems to be the requirement of the hour. A strong man like Lord Salisbury himself could easily carry the bill through, but he is precluded from action on it in the upper house by reason of its being a measure dealing with money. The peers are prohibited from the introduction of such measures in their chamber by a provision of the Constitution.

Apart, however, from present disappointment, the friends of denominational education have much cause for hope. When so much progress has been made as in this case, the battle may be regarded as more than half won. No matter what government be in power, the question cannot be left where it is. The Tories are pledged to it; if they be defeated by any chance, and the verdict of the country be against them, they must still be powerful enough as a minority to compel any Liberal government to introduce remedial legislation for the voluntary schools at least. Though the Liberals are opposed to the principle of the dropped bill, they

cannot deny the existence of a grievance, and they are morally bound to provide redress, even though they may not do it in the exact way proposed by the Unionist ministry. The light which has been thrown upon the subject through the opening of the discussion has made it impossible to hide the magnitude and character of the great wrong which is being perpetrated on portions of the community by the advocates of a system which is found to be slowly but surely sapping the foundations of belief in God and endangering the very safety of the State.

A curious charge has been made against the framers of the abandoned measure. They are accused of endeavoring to introduce into the public administration the vicious principle of interference in religion and suppression of private conscience. How the glasses of prejudice can blind men, otherwise keen-sighted, to the real facts of a case! It is under the existing system, so much admired of the secularists and the doctrinaires, that the conscience of the individual is really outraged and the principle of arbitrary interference with religion practically applied.

But we may look to the future with some cheer. There are mysterious survivals in the moral order as there are in the material one. A few years ago a beautiful phenomenon was witnessed in a mining district in Greece. Old silver mines that had been abandoned since before the Christian era were reopened, and vast heaps of *débris* that had accumulated about them were cleared away. Then immediately there sprung up all over the place a delicate flower peculiar to the district, but never seen since the mining refuse had been piled over the soil where it grew. After a sleep of two thousand years the tender plant, nurtured in the tomb by a subtle influence superior to death, springs up triumphantly to gladden the earth and testify to the sustaining hand of God. How like in vitality the long-extinguished principle of religious education to the resurrection flower of the Lauriun mines!

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

DOCTOR HOLMES'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

THE two sumptuous volumes recently issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and bearing upon their title page "Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes," must agreeably persuade any one who examines them with the eye of a book-lover that in every way—paper, printing, binding, illustrations—they worthily present their subject. The biographer, Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., is a nephew of "The Autocrat" and the author of several volumes in the well-known series of *Lives of American Statesmen*. Of this particular work of his we regret to say it is impossible to speak in terms of highest praise from a literary point of view. There is a frequent carelessness and even unrefinement which are disappointing where we expect at least the marks of an adequate literary training; there is sometimes a coarseness or slanginess of expression fairly startling; and these qualities are all the more noticeable, because in such contrast with the careful, albeit popular, style of Doctor Holmes himself. The general merit of the work as a biography entitles it to fuller approval; though not all of the author's opinions or comments upon various questions, particularly those of religion, are above criticism.

Mr. Morse will not, on the whole, be faulted as a hero-worshipper. In only one point should we say his statements of fact gave a decidedly false impression—where he writes that Dr. Holmes was not "physically insignificant." Any one who ever saw the man might differ from this verdict, and might claim, further, that the doctor's own exclamation about one of his photographs—"very ugly, but horribly true"—was not much exaggerated, for he was most plain in feature, as well as a Zaccheus in stature; and when he rose to speak, or to read a poem, it wasn't till his eyes began to twinkle, and the whole face to light up, and the witty brain or genial soul to pour itself out, that those before him lost thought of these inevitable first impressions.

There can hardly be said to be any over-estimation, in these volumes, of mental powers or literary achievements. One might almost say the opposite—that sometimes there is too apologetic a tone, and a not sufficiently high appreciation. Perhaps with thoughtful prudence, Mr. Morse does not attempt to forecast Dr. Holmes's permanent place in literature. He considers his best writing to have been in prose, and that *The Autocrat* was the best of this; but says, truly enough, "yet he talked better than he

wrote." Of his three novels he rightly regards *The Guardian Angel* as superior to the others. Whether Dr. Holmes was a great poet he will not try to decide. Let readers make their own answer, he says: "I shirk the responsibility of guiding any one's judgment in so momentous a matter." He considers his short lyrics to be his happiest efforts in verse; but, contrary to general opinion, ranks "The Last Leaf" above "The Chambered Nautilus." He hints that he did almost too much for his own reputation in poetry for occasions. He gives about all of Dr. Holmes's letters which he has been able to find, and grieves over their fewness. Yet he seems somewhat depreciatory of the Doctor in this respect, because, forsooth, "in his own family he was not considered an adept in letter-writing," and quotes approvingly Dr. Weir Mitchell's witty remark: "He was not a man of letters, but a man of notes," alluding to his known cleverness in short replies. For many readers, on the other hand, the several series of letters —to Lowell, Motley, Mr. Kimball, Mrs. Stowe and Mrs. Ward— will prove the most interesting and most valuable portion of these volumes.

Mr. Morse fears criticism (he tells us in his preface), because he has given "too much memoir, too little correspondence;" but the only other method would have been to condense his two volumes into one, and that he should have done this will possibly be the final verdict upon his work, which we own is somewhat long drawn out.

Certainly Dr. Holmes's was about as narrow, restricted, provincial, uneventful a life as can well be imagined. "The utter absence of anything in it to remark upon," says Mr. Morse, "became in itself remarkable." Aside from his foreign study for two years when a young man and his trip abroad for three months in old age, he lived almost all his days in or near Boston; his intimate friends were generally within easy range; he loved his family and his home, and there he mostly staid; he never took part in politics, nor held any office; "nothing ever happened to him." If such a life have a charm, it must be emphatically in its inner manifestations; and so it was with this.

In his talk and in his writings Dr. Holmes lived and lives. His talk has passed away; for, as Mr. Morse grieves to say: "The brilliant talker . . . . must become, like a great actor, a mere tradition"; and so "his talk is remembered as the scenery of the clouds is remembered, a picture dwelling in the mind, but never to be produced to eyes which looked not upon it." The record of his talk we have a little of in his writings; but these have also a wider scope, and represent the range of all his inner life. "He was a New Englander, from the central thread of his marrow to

his outermost rind," bluntly writes his biographer, who claims that his "function in literature was to present New England to the rest of the world in his own day, and to all the world in future days," and continues, "He did it admirably, so as to leave nothing to be desired. So far as New England was worth presenting and preserving, his work merits corresponding eulogy."

Following now, a little, the thread of this uneventful life, we learn that he was born August 29, 1809, and that the birthplace was Cambridge, in that old gambrel-roofed house which many of our readers have probably seen, and of which a fine picture is given in one of these volumes—an old colonial house, even then famous as having been the headquarters of one of the American generals at the outbreak of the Revolution, and in later times perhaps equally famous as the "Holmes house." It is not many years since the building was mostly torn down, though a part was moved to a back street and became a tenement for poor people, and was thus occupied until about a year and a half ago, when every vestige of it disappeared from existence. Dr. Holmes lived in this house till his manhood; and he was much grieved when the destruction of the old homestead began, though he admitted that 'the slaughter was a case of justifiable *domicide*."

His father was a Congregational minister of strong Calvinistic beliefs, "modified," however, as the son says, "by the kindly nature in which they were received," and softened by the influence of the "liberal" surroundings in Cambridge. His mother, Sarah Wendell, is described as "a bright, vivacious woman, of small figure and sprightly manners," with "traits very different from those of her husband," and the son is said to have been more like her intellectually, and, we may add, physically. Coming, as he did, of good lineage, he was always aristocratic in feeling, as his biographer claims, who cites the words of *The Autocrat:* "I go for the man with the family portraits against the one with the twenty-cent daguerreotype, *unless* I find out that the latter is the better of the two. I go for the man who inherits family traditions . . . . of at least five generations"; but he did not admire an aristocracy of mere money—"the untitled nobility which has the dollar for its armorial bearing."

Of his childhood and youth perhaps the strongest definite impression—gathered largely from the fragment of autobiography which he prepared in old age, and which forms one of the early chapters of these volumes—is that of the influence of those stern religious beliefs in which he was brought up, and from which he never wholly freed himself. He became, in his writings, a violent opponent of Calvinism, and in opposing its errors it must be owned he sometimes misinterpreted and misrepresented that system.

When he was fifteen he went to Phillips Academy, Andover, to fit for college. It is hinted in this "Life" that his father meant to make a minister of him by sending him to that factory for the manufacture of good Orthodox, as it is called; and Dr. Holmes says himself: "I might have been a minister for aught I know, if a certain clergyman hadn't looked and talked so like an undertaker." He used to contrast the looks and ways of the clergymen who exchanged with his father—some "nominally Orthodox, but weak in the theological joints," who were pleasanter than others, the "Evangelicals, most of them smitten with the Sabbath paralysis"—and now and then one "with a sad face and a wailing voice, which sounded exactly as if somebody must be lying dead up stairs, who took no interest in us children, except a painful one, as being in a bad way with our cheery looks, and did more to unchristianize us with his woe begone ways than all his sermons were likely to accomplish in the other direction."

He entered Harvard College in 1825, and graduated in 1829, in a class with many who became distinguished. There are but few notes of his college career. He does not seem to have injured himself by study. In a letter written when he was a junior, he describes himself as "a plumeless biped . . . . standing exactly five feet three inches," in his boots; "not dissipated," and "not sedate," and "in moral qualities rather lazy than otherwise," which we can readily believe, for he says he ranks seventeenth in his class. He used to write verses for college exhibitions, and he was the class poet. When he graduated he was undecided about his profession, and began studying law in the Harvard Law School. But he busied himself mostly in writing poetry for various papers—"Old Ironsides" was written then—and in going with the girls. More than thirty years later he referred to this time:

> "In that fatal year I had my first attack of author's lead-poisoning, and I have never quite got rid of it from that day to this. But for that I might have applied myself more diligently to my legal studies, and carried a green bag in place of a stethoscope and a thermometer up to the present day."

So the next year found him beginning the study of medicine in a private medical school in Boston, where he attended two courses of lectures; and then, in the spring of 1833, he went to Paris to finish his studies, returning in the autumn of 1835. During these two years and more there is evidence enough of his devotion to his work, and with increased interest in it. He led a life of study, intermingled with considerable pleasure and recreation—taking his work "with all his might, and his pleasure very moderately"—patronizing the theatres occasionally, and using his long vacations in travelling in England and on the continent. Long after, he gave

many interesting reminiscences of the famous professors under whom he studied; but, as regards the hard work he did, observed that much of his time in Paris was lost in ill-directed study. Now, however, he was certainly very ambitious;—writing, in November, 1833, "I am, as usual, all medicine; getting up at seven and going to hospitals, cutting up, hearing lectures, soaking, infiltrating in the springs of knowledge. There is a great deal more to be done than I was inclined to suppose, but the more the better, when one gets into good working trim;" and the next year, "There are subjects which I have scarcely touched, and which I must study in Paris. It is not a selfish matter; I am devoted to my profession, and I wish to return second to no young man in it." He thought he wasn't extravagant, but he couldn't get along without spending $1200 or $1400 a year—which must have nearly drained the family purse. He writes once in a rather independent tone to his parents, who were making great sacrifices in his behalf:

"Economy, in one sense, is too expensive for a student. For my part, I say freely that a certain degree of ease connected with my manner of living, a tolerably good dinner, a nice book when I want it and that kind of comforts are in the place of theatres and parties, for which I have less taste than many good fellows of my acquaintance. I can go home, if I must, but while I am here I will not eat a dinner for twenty-five sous and drink sour wine at a shabby restaurant."

As to his expenses, which included books, instruments, private instruction, he says: "I tell you it is not throwing away money, because nine-tenths of it goes straight into my head in the shape of knowledge." Some months later his tone hasn't changed much. "I have spent a year in Paris. My expenses have been seven thousand francs. I have lived comfortably, liberally if you please, but in the main not extravagantly"; and not till a little while before his return home does he meekly write: "I think I shall be much more moderate in my expenses; I will try, at any rate." It is interesting to note that he was more pleased with the French character the more he saw of it, and thought the French "a great, a glorious people," and that scientifically they were half a century in advance of the English, but that against this people his feeling was then very strong,—"this nation of sulky suicides," "without the personal interest of somebody it is impossible to see anything in this country," "the English spirit of quackery," and more expressions of a like sort illustrating his tone of mind. Every one knows how wonderfully this spirit towards England and the English changed in later years.

Many reasons are suggested why Dr. Holmes did not have the success as a practicing physician which would have been expected after all his faithful and ambitious study. Perhaps he was too

humane and tender hearted; perhaps his being a wit and a poet had something to do with it. "For some reason or no reason," says Mr. Morse, "the world has made up its mind that he who writes rhymes must not write prescriptions, and he who makes jests should not escort people to their graves." So his pleasantry on first putting out his physician's sign—smallest fevers thankfully received—while it provoked a laugh from those who had no fevers, made those who had them prefer to have some one else treat them; and when he published a book of verse, and was actually invited to deliver the *Φ. B. K.* poem, all this was really too much, he couldn't mean to take his professed vocation seriously! We read that he once owned he didn't make any strenuous efforts to obtain business, and that the thing most pleasing to him about the practice of medicine was keeping a horse and chaise. He always drove a fast horse, and the picture must have been comical enough of the little man bouncing up and down on his seat in the big chaise with his spirited steed at a break-neck pace! Subsequently he thus spoke to students: "Medicine is the most difficult of sciences and the most laborious of arts. It will task all your powers of body and mind if you are faithful to it. The great practitioners are generally those who concentrate all their powers on their business"; and Mr. Morse thinks he never did this act of concentration, or at least not very persistently; and this is probably the secret of the matter.

But he had opportunities, and he gained deserved success on the theoretical and academic side of his profession. He wrote medical essays which won prizes; and one of these essays, that upon "The Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever," received the high praise of being an original as well as greatly valuable contribution to medical science, and the position which he took in it he maintained victoriously against the opposition of the leading American authorities of that day. Some few years before this controversy he accepted the professorship of anatomy at Dartmouth College, which he held during 1839 and 1840. In 1847 he became professor of anatomy and physiology in the Harvard Medical School. He took "great pride and interest" in this position, and held it for thirty-five years. At first his duties were so many and varied that he used to speak of occupying "not a professor's chair, but a whole settee." After 1871 it was anatomy alone which he taught, a subject which was not open to the effects of progressive change like many others, and about which he once wrote in his humorous way: "Fortunately for me there has been no change in human anatomy since Adam lost the rib from his side; and somehow or other I always find a full dozen on both sides in his male descendants."

As a teacher and lecturer Dr. Holmes enjoyed an excellent reputation. His method was to lecture to the lower half of the class rather than to the higher; "to teach a little and to teach it well." He carried out the idea of knowing *something* really and thoroughly, showing himself the persistent foe of what he sharply called "flippant loquacity of half knowledge." The students in those days were often rough and disorderly—medical students are said to be generally so—the lecture on anatomy was the fifth one of the day, and it used to be thought, says Dr. Cheever, who was a student under him, that "he alone could hold his exhausted audience's attention." We need offer no apology for quoting a portion of his interesting description of the lecture and the lecturer:

"Respect for poor humanity and admiration for God's divinest work is the first lesson and the uppermost in the poet-lecturer's mind. He enters, and is greeted with a mighty shout and stamp of applause. Then silence, and there begins a charming hour of description, analysis, simile, anecdote, harmless fun, which clothes the dry bones with poetic imagery, enlivens a hard and fatiguing day with humor, and brightens to the tired listener the details of a difficult though interesting study. As a lecturer he was accurate, punctual, precise, unvarying in patience over detail, and, though not an original anatomist in the sense of a discoverer, yet a most exact descriptive lecturer, while the wealth of illustration, comparison and simile he used was unequalled. Hence his charm; you received information and you were amused at the same time. 'Iteration and reiteration' was his favorite motto in teaching. 'These, gentlemen,' he said, on one occasion, pointing out the lower portion of the pelvic bones, 'are the tuberosities of the ischia, on which man was designed to sit and survey the works of creation.' But if witty, he could also be serious and pathetic, and he possessed the high power of holding and controlling his rough auditors."

To add one or two items to the record of Dr. Holmes's medical career, it may be mentioned that he abhorred homœopathy, and looked upon it with contempt as a "pseudo-science"; that he believed in vivisection, as a necessity, though Mr. Morse is sure that, with his known tenderness for animals, "in his heart he hated it bitterly," regarding it as "a mode of acquiring knowledge justifiable in its proper use, odious beyond measure in its abuse"; that he considered the vocation of woman in relation to medicine to be that of nurse rather than that of physician or surgeon; and still, in an address before the medical school, after uttering that sentiment, he brought down a shower of enthusiasm by adding, "Yet, if here and there, an intrepid woman insists on taking by storm the fortress of medical education, I would have the gate flung open to her, as if it were that of the citadel of Orleans, and she were Joan of Arc returning from the field of victory."

The Doctor was so domestic a man that it would be a flagrant oversight not to refer to his marriage, though we go back in our record to pick up the thread. It was on June 15, 1840, that this event occurred; and he married Amelia Lee Jackson, of Boston.

Mr. Morse's way of speaking of her is most felicitous, "the kindest, gentlest and tenderest of women," "an ideal wife, a comrade the most delightful, a helpmate the most useful." He says she did everything for him, "in a word, she took care of him, and gave him every day the fullest and freest chance to be always at his best, always able to do his work amid cheerful surroundings." A model wife, indeed, for any man, and especially for a literary man! and it is no surprise to read, "she contributed immensely to his success." They had three children, only one of whom is now living. He bears his father's name. He distinguished himself in the Civil War, being wounded in three engagements, and promoted for bravery. He is now fifty-five years old, a lawyer by profession, and has been for many years an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in Massachusetts.

During Dr. Holmes's early married life he engaged a good deal in literary lecturing, as well as medical, a vogue which was then about at its height. He took up this occupation, no doubt, chiefly from necessity, to help out his income; for, while he may have liked it well enough when he could be giving a course before the Lowell Institute—as he did on the English poets—it is well known that he didn't fancy all the inconveniences, and even dangers to his sensitive constitution from the country lecturing. Mr. Morse tells of "the sleepless nights, the dyspepsias, and colds, and aching joints," and of how much he said he should prefer "nateral death to puttin' himself out of the world by any such violent means as lecterin'." He didn't hesitate to call it a hard business and poorly paid, yet said he could "get a kind of living out of it if he had invitations enough;" and he kept up the itineracy for many seasons, and in going about used drolly to name himself "the huma, the bird that never lights." He was "a favorite, and had no lack of engagements," we read; and though physically he was under some disadvantage at first, this was soon forgotten in the expressiveness and control of his voice, and his "quick sympathy with his audience, and with what he was saying to it."

A larger literary opportunity came not many years later; one for which the lectures, and the books of verse, and the witty words at dinners and on other occasions, had prepared the way, in the growing reputation which they had given him. In 1857 *The Atlantic Monthly* was projected and began to be issued. Dr. Holmes gave the name to the new magazine, "christening the unborn babe," to use Mr. Morse's expression. *The Atlantic* started out with James Russell Lowell as its editor; and he it was who urged Dr. Holmes to be a contributor, having even made it a condition to his acceptance of the editorship. At first Holmes answered, "Too late! too late!" a shrinking which can hardly have been due to his age

—he was then forty-eight—but probably to "a kind of literary lethargy," in which, he said afterward, he was half slumbering, and from which Lowell woke him to call him to active service. "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table"—a title which, it seems, he had used in the brief-lived *New England Magazine*, more than twenty years before—now began to appear, and immediately gave such a reputation to the monthly as abundantly to justify Mr. Howell's words: "Dr. Holmes did not name, he made *The Atlantic*.

It is not the purpose of this paper to enter upon any sufficient criticism of Dr. Holmes's writings, but at most to allude, in a critical vein, to various qualities of his works as brought out in this biography. It may go without saying that *The Autocrat* shows the high-water mark of Holmes's prose. The provincialism of the work, the New Englandism, the Bostonianism, Mr. Morse makes a great deal of, with an intensity, and a jealousy for New England and for Boston, which equals, if not surpasses, Dr. Holmes himself. He is not content to claim *The Autocrat* as "a picture of New Englandism," no!—such language, he says, is not strong enough—"it is an actual piece of New England, a sample cut solidly out of the original body." He must be owned to be somewhat inconsistent in his praise.[1] He boasts that Holmes was provincial only as—say—Walter Scott was; in being a New Englander he is *racial!* New England people have become *a race!* Yet he says "he certainly was *not cosmopolitan*"; and he both defends the fact that he was not, as a higher title to immortality, and also apologizes for it—anxious that readers may not think his hero so narrow-minded as never to have longed for the world without! The fact is that Dr. Holmes was, in many ways, narrow and provincial; and in speaking of The Saturday Club, founded at about this time, which he so especially loved—"he hugged the thought of it"—Mr. Morse himself regrets his narrowness thus: "Partly, his sentiment was the result of the limited sphere of his life; had he ever travelled, seeing foreign lands, mingling with their distinguished people, *becoming in any degree cosmopolitan*, the club would have assumed proportions more accurately adapted to the universe in general." The Autocrat felt his own narrowness, and sometimes wished it were otherwise; *e.g.*, to Motley he once wrote: "I have lived so long stationary, that I have become intensely local, and doubtless in many ways narrow. I should like to breathe the air of the great outer world for a while, but I am so sure to suffer from asthmatic trouble if I

[1] In spite of all Mr. Leslie Stephen says to the contrary on this point in his paper upon Dr. Holmes in *The National Review* for July, 1896, p. 628.

trust myself in strange places, that I consider myself a kind of prisoner for life," etc.; so one can see it was partly physical difficulty which kept him always in that particular spot and strengthened his mental provincialism; and one is ready to overlook all its narrowness when he goes on to say so genially, "There are some valuable qualities about an old provincial friend like me to a cosmopolitan like yourself. He keeps the home flavor, a whiff of which from his garments is now and then as pleasant, I am willing to believe, as the scent of the lavender in which fair linen has been laid away in old bureau drawers. It is not the fragrance of the garden, but there is something which reaches the memory in it and sets us thinking of seasons that are dead and gone, and of what they carried away with them." Once he longs for even the outer world of New York! and writes: "I hope I shall get there again some time or other, for it de-oxydizes and de-Bostonizes me; and I suppose I am as much of a provincial in many of my ways as—one who lives in the centre of the solar system can well be"! Here, indeed, are irony and humor, seriousness and fun, pride and humility so blended that you hardly know which is the inspiring motive. But enough of the provincialism of The Autocrat. Mr. Morse is needlessly anxious, in our opinion, lest Dr. Holmes should be compared with any other writers. He gives a list of some thirty names which have been linked with his in this way, but scorns the notion that he is like any one else, and claims for him supreme originality! "Holmes was Holmes!" he says; his "individuality" so marked that he lived in "literary solitude"; "neither had he followers or imitators"; all which statements may be considered extreme and open to criticism, and at least not representing the sentiment of the literary world. They almost incline us to withdraw our words at the opening of this paper about hero-worship! To claim, as his biographer does, that an author's "fair reputation for individuality" is "whittled away and pared off till there is little left" by merely suggesting "likenesses" would be an idle plea for originality for any writer later than Homer; and certainly for Dr. Holmes! and is as "amusing" and "absurd" as he fancies those "likenesses" are; while to favor the opinion that "he was in no sense a writer inspired by his culture" appears to take from him the very praise that belongs to him; for he was, in a true sense, both cultured and original—the elements of his culture are continually appearing in his writing, and his very shaping and moulding of them becomes his originality. Nor is this a paradox.

It is dangerous for an author who has achieved brilliant success in a certain peculiar line to choose the same method a second time. Dr. Holmes both proved his popularity and showed his

literary skill by being able to follow up *The Autocrat* by *The Professor* and *The Poet—at the Breakfast Table*, and later still by the group of papers *Over the Teacups*—all four being now given in the publishers' catalogue as The Breakfast Table series. All were originally published in *The Atlantic;* and the general method followed in all the books—the conversational style—is the same. It cannot be pretended that the excellence of any of the others is at all equal to that of *The Autocrat*, nor that their reception by the public was as enthusiastic; yet the whole series is a remarkable instance of power in competing with the formidable rival—one's self. He showed shrewdness in letting intervals shorter or longer come between the different books. *The Professor* appeared in 1860, *The Poet* eleven years later, in 1871, while *Over the Teacups* was the work of his old age, begun in 1888 and finished in 1891, when he was eighty-two years old. The topics, too, were varied. The Professor, says Mr. Morse, "did not talk in quite the vein of his predecessor; he chose more serious topics"; and he adds: "Because the Professor was less entertaining than the Autocrat, he has been less famous and less widely popular; yet, being more thoughtful and more profound, he has pleased some people better." The Poet, he observes, "was a very charming fellow, yet not quite so agreeable as his predecessors had been." He compares these first three volumes to "the three successive pressings of the grapes from an illustrious vineyard. The *premier cru* is the best; the second is very nearly as good; but by the third squeezing the difference in quality cannot escape notice; still, even then, one says: 'they were indeed grapes from a rare good soil.'"

Besides the wit and wisdom in the prose of all these books, the best of Dr. Holmes's verse, "The Chambered Nautilus," "The One Hoss Shay," "Iris," "The Broomstick Train," "At the Turn of the Road" and other poems, first appeared in these pages. Allusion has already been made to Mr. Morse's hesitation in passing judgment whether Dr. Holmes was a great poet. The limits of this article forbid more than a few additional words upon this point. There can be no doubt, as his biographer affirms, that "he was a charming *singer*," and that in this lyrical poetry—"his proper field"—he was, what is here claimed for him, "a consummate master of all that is harmonious, graceful and pleasing in rhythm and language"; also, that he showed an unusual readiness in producing those *occasional* verses of his, in which his wit so shone and his delicate sympathy was often so manifest. "What a poet-laureate he would have made!" says Mr. Morse, and adds, "Yet he was not wasted in a republic." He believed in poetic inspiration, and used to say that often he didn't know whither his

pen would carry him, that his will was without power. To a correspondent who wanted a lyric for a fair, he replied: "To write a lyric is like having a fit; you can't have one when you wish you could (as, for instance, when your bore is in his third hour and having it all his own way), and you can't help having it when it comes of itself."

The famous Saturday Club brings Dr. Holmes before us as a *talker*. The original members were some of the chief contributors to *The Atlantic*, though that was all the connection there was between the two. They met to dine together the last Saturday of every month; and at those dinners were gathered at different times Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, Motley, Whittier, Agassiz, Sumner, Fields and many more, and among them all, no doubt, Holmes was the most brilliant talker. "Talking," he used to say, "is one of the fine arts—the noblest, the most important, the most difficult—and its fluent harmonies may be spoiled by the intrusion of a single harsh note." He claimed to be as good a listener as he was talker; but Mr. Morse affirms that he did sometimes unwittingly monopolize the conversation, and Colonel Higginson adds his testimony concerning both Holmes and Lowell—the most "habitually brilliant" talkers he had ever met, but who "hadn't learned the art of repression." His mind was very quick in action under the incentive of genial companions, and it bubbled up, and, as Mr. Gosse once described it, "rippled over with an illuminated cascade of fancy and humor and repartee." In talk and on paper, one form which his wit took was that of *puns*. His biographer is chary of speaking of this, and barely mentions that "occasionally the exuberance of his merriment" took this shape, or in apology refers to it as "the irresistible tendency of his youth reasserting itself" in old age; but it was more than "occasionally," or when he was old; it was all his life long, as any one who even reads these volumes will see. His puns and jokes, however, didn't interfere with his serious thinking, and he had a very serious side to his nature. They were always good, too, and to the point, which is more than can be claimed for his own pleasantries which Mr. Morse scatters throughout these volumes. Passages from one or two of the Doctor's letters will illustrate his felicity in this direction:

"The weather here is very cold, and the spring puns are very backward. Early *Joe Millers*, though forced so as to be up by the first of April, are like to yield but a poor crop. The *art o'jokes* don't flourish. I wish you to see that we are some *punkins* here in Hubtown, though you have the *demirep-utation* of making worse puns and more of them in your city than are made in any other habitable portion of the globe. The tendency is hereditary, no doubt—all vices are. Didn't Alexander the Great inherit his tendency to get drunk from his father, the notorious *Fill-up* of Macedon?"

To a friend named *Angell*, he writes:

"What infinite changes must have been rung on the celestial title you bear! . . . . How large a proportion of your friends are in the habit of saying, when you call to see them:

'Like *angel* visits,' etc.?

Do your flatterers speak of all the rest of mankind as being made a little lower than the *ditto?* Are you not told several times a week, on an average, that no woman could resist your suit, as she could not refuse to be changed into a *ditto?* Have you ever corresponded with *Deville*, the famous phrenologist? I presume he is descended from the same stock with yourself, but that some ancestor of his must have fallen and had his name changed. Sir Roderick *Impey* Murchison is probably a branch of the same family. . . . . There is one family in this city you ought to know; of course I mean the *Wings*. I have always understood they were connected to you in some way. Your complimentary letter almost 'raised a mortal to the skies.' I hope mine has not, by its trivialities, 'brought an *etc.* down.'"

Dr. Holmes wrote three novels, *Elsie Venner*, which appeared in 1861, and was first called *The Professor's Story; The Guardian Angel* in 1867, and *A Mortal Antipathy* in 1885. The first two show considerable ability; the last a marked lack of ability. It is universally considered a failure, whether Mr. Morse's words, "he was then far past the creative age," explain this or not; and there is no call for saying more of it, except that the problem proposed in it is akin to that of the others. For they were all novels with a purpose, written chiefly to ventilate theories, and these having to do with deep ethical and theological questions. *Elsie Venner* may be called the great snake-story of literature; Mr. Morse says, "with the exception of the legend of Eve,"—but that in one of his little imitative slurs upon the Bible, and his words need carry no weight. The book imagines the strange case of the child Elsie poisoned through prenatal influence from her mother; and the problem is as to the effect of this prenatal poisoning upon the moral responsibility of the child, or, as Dr. Holmes puts it, "the mighty question of automatic agency in its relation to self-determination;" and the idea of the story, he says, is conceived in the fear of God and in the love of man. It is the old question of will and necessity—foreknowledge on the Creator's part and freedom of the creature—which was always troubling him from his youth up.[1] But this might easily be called an exceptional, abnormal instance of the limitation of responsibility; and so in the next novel, *The Guardian Angel*, he deals with the general ques-

[1] Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his criticism of this book, interesting and valuable from a literary standpoint, does not appear in the least to grasp its moral scope and purpose; saying "it has *an air* of being didactic," and really seeming to imagine that Dr. Holmes has no more in mind, ethically, than to determine the moral code for judging some one who is half woman and half snake! Vid. *National Review*, July, 1896, p. 632.

tion of heredity in this light. In the preface to that book he owns that both stories are "protests against shifting the total responsibility of all human action from the infinite to the finite" (he considered that there was a responsibility the other way, and that the Creator had obligations to his creations!), but ironically remarks that he won't so proclaim them, lest he may "alarm the jealousy of the cabinet-keepers of our doctrinal museums"! We shall not enter into a discussion of these matters; and shall reserve for the close of our paper further comment upon his ethical and religious opinions, except to note now that, as shown in the novels and in his other books, they are a strange mingling of truth and error, reasonable deductions and the wildest vagaries of misinterpretation,—and to say, also, that we do not think his biographer quite adequately represents him in this respect, except as he afterwards lets him speak for himself in his letters.

As the Autocrat grew famous, he was more and more written to from far and near by all sorts of people, for advice and help, and with petitions as various as some of them were absurd; or, as Mr. Morse elegantly (!) expresses it, "the countless jaws of that many-headed and voracious ogre, 'the public,' began to gnash for the new victim." In that most entertaining chapter, "The Victim of Correspondents," which opens with these words, abundant illustrations are given of his ways of meeting those who wrote to him. He made it a general rule to reply to all letters where he could give pleasure or be of any use to his correspondent. Of course, a great part of the letters he received were those asking literary advice: and in giving this he is said to have been uniformly honest, scrupulously conscientious, and gentle to such as needed plain words of warning. A statement of Mr. Aldrich's at the Atlantic Breakfast in Holmes's honor, in 1879, tells us that within the previous twenty-five years "no fewer than five thousand young American poets [have] availed themselves of his amiability, and sent him copies of their first book." And he adds, "I honestly believe that Dr. Holmes has written to each of these immortals a note full of the keenest appreciation and the wisest counsel." The Doctor himself, in his latest work, lets us into the inner delights of being such a favorite, when he exclaims, of these letters and their subjects:

> "What struggles of young ambition, finding no place for its energies, or feeling its incapacity to reach the ideal towards which it was striving! . . . . Oh! what hopeless efforts of mediocrities and inferiorities, believing in themselves as superiorities, and stumbling on through limping disappointments to prostrate failures! etc. . . . . But what does not one have to submit to who has became the martyr—the Saint Sebastian—of a literary correspondence?"

In 1880 Harvard University conferred the degree of LL.D. upon

Dr. Holmes. Two years later he resigned his professorship, at the age of seventy-three; not, he says, because of any infirmity mental or bodily, nor because his colleagues were tired of him, but to devote himself more fully to literature with the powers that remained to him. For, though he was still bright, vivacious, quite vigorous in body and mind, he felt he was beginning to grow old; and, as his biographer puts it, he resolved to keep close watch upon himself. "Upon this point," says Mr. Morse, "he did not mean to be deceived; he did not intend that the outside world should measure a decadence concerning which he was not himself accurately informed; he meant to be on his guard, and to have as few unpleasant remarks made behind his back as might be. So he began to keep upon himself the close and intelligent watch of the trained observer." In connection with the giving up of his professorship, and before leaving the general topic of his official duties, it is worth while to note the degree of his sympathy with the new methods at Harvard inaugurated by President Eliot. To Motley he writes more than once, in half-admiring, half-criticizing way, of Mr. Eliot's innovations, and how he regards them; *e.g.*:

"I have great hopes from his energy and devotion to his business, which he studies as I suppose no president ever did before, but I think the corporation and overseers will have to hold him in a little, or he will want to do too many things at once." "I cannot help being amused at some of the scenes in our medical faculty—this cool, grave young man proposing in the calmest way to turn everything topsy turvy, taking the reins into his hands and driving as if he were the first man that ever sat on the box. I say amused because I do not really care much about most of the changes he proposes, and I look on a little as I would at a rather serious comedy."

And, again, in a climax of humor:

"It is so curious to see a young man like Eliot, with an organizing brain, a firm will, a grave, calm, dignified presence, taking the ribbons of our classical coach and six, feeling the horses' mouths, putting a check on this one's capers and touching that one with the lash, turning up everywhere, in every faculty (I belong to *three*), on every public occasion, at every dinner *ornè*, and taking it all as naturally as if he had been born president."

Of the life of Motley, which Dr. Holmes prepared in 1878, there is no very good account to be given, according to Mr. Morse. It was simply a lavish eulogy, "an idealized picture," and therefore far from satisfactory. The life of Emerson, which he completed in 1884, demands a little fuller consideration. In our opinion it does not here receive quite fair treatment. Mr. Morse is too depreciatory, even unduly severe. He says it was generally regarded as far from fortunate that Dr. Holmes was asked to write the book, because, as it is claimed, there was no bond of union between the two men; he understood Emerson only intellectually, but had no sympathetic appreciation of him; and thinks he was

not "influenced by him in the slightest degree." He speaks of the Doctor's misgivings about attempting the work, of his studied preparation, of his anxiety while writing it, and of his sigh of relief when it was finished. Much of all this may be granted, but may perhaps be differently explained. Holmes was certainly no worshipper of Emerson; and though he admired and loved, he was even "a late comer as an admirer." He was not an idealist, and had little sympathy with Emerson's mystic transcendentalism. The book which he wrote, a kind of biographical and critical study, one which left abundant room for Mr. Cabot's later and fuller memoir, is interesting and valuable. As a study it proves its own worth in its tone of impartial estimate of the excellencies and the defects of Emerson's various writings. It honestly and lavishly praises, and as honestly blames; and though, having to cover so wide a range, it is necessarily brief both in citations and in comments, it is continually suggestive, plain and convincing in its criticism, and, so far as it goes, eminently helpful to all who do not expect an exhaustive analysis in method or unquestioning adulation in treatment.

The three months' trip which Dr. Holmes made to Europe in 1886, accompanied by his daughter, Mrs. Sargent, was as delightful as could have been anticipated, however naturally fatiguing at his age. The time was passed almost entirely in England; and it was really a kind of "triumphal tour," as Mr. Morse calls it, from the attentions with which he was overwhelmed. If he had changed his mind, as he had decidedly, about England and the English since the days of his youth, his new and favorable views must have received most gratifying corroboration. And if he craved academic honors from other lands than his own, here they were at his hand; for Oxford made him D.C.L., Cambridge a Doctor of Letters; and Edinburgh gave him another LL.D. Yet, in face of all the attentions, we can understand the feeling of his biographer, who says:

"One regrets that the Englishmen did not see him at his best. Of course they appreciated the inroads of age and made allowances for them, but making allowances is not a vivid transaction, and the visions of fancy fall sadly short of the realism of actual encounter. We must all wish that he had made that trip thirty years earlier."

The experiences of this visit he pleasantly recounted on his return, in his book, *One Hundred Days in Europe*. After that his principal literary work was the series of papers, *Over the Teacups*, of which we have spoken, and about which he wrote:

"I don't suppose I can make my evening teacups as much of a success as my morning coffeecups were, but I have found occupation, and my friends encourage me with the assurance that I am not yet in my second childhood."

Occupation was, indeed, the main thing for him now, and one can readily accord that "there was something at once pathetic and admirable in the mingling of self-knowledge and resolution which impelled him to it." These papers are well styled "a magnificent *tour de force* of a spirited old man holding his own against the columns of the hostile years." The pecuniary success, everything considered, was quite remarkable, for within a few months of publication the sales had reached twenty thousand copies, and this, he wrote to a friend, was "very gratifying, but oh, if only those whom I have lost could have shared my satisfaction! The pleasure of the pocket is very well in its way, but the pleasure of the heart, when your friends tell you they like what you have done, is of a better quality, and I have had both," etc.

Old age was now verily upon him. Moreover, he was brought to feel the truth of what Cardinal Newman observed so touchingly in his decline, that "the penalty of living is to lose the props of life." In 1884 his son Edward died; in 1888 his wife; and it may be judged what that blow must have been to him. The next year his daughter followed. His letters for some years at this period, as he was made aware of the gentle approach of age or felt its veritable presence, are full of allusions, facetious, thoughtful, dignified, occasionally anxious; yet, it must be said, with hardly any definite looking forward to the hereafter. He was strongly and increasingly reticent upon this subject. That he really did look forward, need not be denied; but it appears to have been, so far as we can judge, with more or less uncertainty; with a degree of trust in God *because of* certain impressions or beliefs, but more *in spite of* others; and in the midst of bright light, as he was, yet, as it were, blinded by it, and still groping, and crying out, as he did, "Do I not ask for light? God knows I do." It may be of interest to cite a few of these allusions. To Whittier he writes, at seventy-two:

"The dismantling of the human organism is a gentle process, more obvious to those who look on than to those who are the subjects of it. It brings some solaces with it; deafness is a shield; infirmity makes those around us helpful; incapacity unloads our shoulders; and imbecility, if it must come, is always preceded by the administration of one of nature's opiates."

To Lowell, Curtis, and Norton, who had sent him a note of birthday greeting at seventy-six, he replies:

"Grow old, my dear boys, grow old! Your failings are forgotten, your virtues are overrated, there is just enough of pity in the love that is borne you to give it a tenderness all its own."

To another correspondent, at eighty-two:

"It is not strange that at three score and twenty and two over, one should find his eyes more or less dim, and his ears more or less dull. I like to write out the figures of my age in good Roman characters, thus, LXXXII. It gives them a patriarchal look, and adds to what Wordsworth calls 'the monumental pomp of age.'"

To Dr. Weir Mitchell he writes, at eighty-four:

"I find myself almost alone, so far as my coevals are concerned. There are two breakwaters left between me, in my quiet harbor, and the great unexplored ocean of eternity, my daughter-in-law's father, Mr. Dixwell, and that dear old nonagenarian, Dr. Furness. . . . . I have been riding the high horse; let me get out of the saddle. My birthday found me very well in body, and I think in mind. If I am in the twilight of dementia I have not found it out. I am only reasonably deaf; my two promising cataracts are so slow about their work that I begin to laugh at them."

And at eighty-five, to Charles Dudley Warner, the last letter recorded, dated September 13, 1894:

"Your kind expressions are very grateful to me. . . . They do me good. . . . Old age at best is lonely; and the process of changing one's whole suit of friends and acquaintances has its moments when one feels naked and shivers."

The end came at last, very gently; he took his walks till almost the last; he was about the house to the very day of his death; and he passed away in his chair, October 7, 1894, "painlessly," writes Mr. Morse, "as so humane a man well deserved to make his escape out of life."

As may be inferred, there are many notes and letters, or parts of letters, scattered throughout this biography; but besides these, *the groups of letters* which comprise two-thirds of the second volume form a most valuable addition to the work. These are: To Lowell, critical and personal; to Motley—the most generally interesting of the different series—upon the Civil War, the College, the Byron and Beecher scandals, and upon friends and friendships; to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (Ward), partly critical, partly consolatory; a lot of miscellaneous letters, largely to James T. Fields, James Freeman Clarke and Whittier; and, in addition to all these, two series of greatest importance, to James W. Kimball, upon biblical and theological topics, and to Mrs. Stowe, expressing most fully his religious opinions and convictions.

These particular letters deserve more than a passing word, if Dr. Holmes's place among men is to be rightly estimated. For *they bring out the serious side of his life* in the strongest light and with a striking earnestness. No believer in his sincerity or his mental integrity can be put off with being smoothly told that in them "like most sensitive correspondents, he unconsciously assimilated his color to the leaf upon which he was resting."[1] These letters

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1896, p. 833.

declare plainly enough what he considered to be the genuine issues of life; not only that he was really more interested in theology than in medicine or literature, as Mr. Morse somewhere admits, but that these questions of religion were to him of the very deepest concern. They tell how a "liberal" in religion *may* be most narrow and dogmatic; they contain a great many misconceptions of the Bible and of Christianity in its various aspects; they show what he felt to be the disastrous effects of the Calvinism in which he was brought up,—he is like a lame child, he says, who shows his limp at every step, and again, "I don't believe you or I can ever get the iron of Calvinism out of our souls"; they are bitter against what he calls "the incompetent, nay inhuman thinking" of dogma; they bring before us his own uncertainty, under the unrest of the age, with no fixed faith, and yet affirm his strong yearning for faith, his attempt at belief in the midst of doubts; they touch a great deal upon the contrasts of heresy and orthodoxy; under the pressure of questions of will and responsibility, they seem to deny human freedom; they almost do away with the mystery as with the fact of sin (which of course vanishes if human responsibility is nothing); they enlarge upon the mystery of suffering, to him the great *crux* in the world; they make God our Father—"My creed," he says, "is in the first two words of the Pater Noster"; but they present such an imperfect idea of God as to make Him knowable only as the extension of our humanity.

We shall not attempt to give passages from these letters. They need to be read fully and connectedly. Yet this much may here be said. The revelation which they make of Dr. Holmes's inner life is as valuable as it is interesting to all who would truly know the man. Furthermore, with all the uncertainty and conflict which they reveal, they show that he took a far wider, grander view than Mr. Morse seems willing to admit he was capable of taking. With all their free thought, they are not paganism; and with all his "humaneness," so genuine and so earnest, we cannot believe he would be pleased with his biographer's description of him as merely "the humane man, making his escape out of life." That is George Eliot's dreary philosophy—the philosophy of paganism. Dr. Holmes was not a pagan, far from it. A liberal Unitarian he might perhaps be called, if anything, for he never formulated his faith; but he was groping, and struggling, and *growing*. His quarrel, after all, was mainly with Calvinism—to use his own words, in one of his books, with those "doctrines which shock the more highly civilized part of mankind in this nineteenth century, and are leading to those dissensions which have long shown as cracks and are fast becoming lines of cleavage in some of the largest commu-

nions of Protestantism."[1] Whether, if he could have lived his life over again, he would have attained to a full acceptance of Catholicity, we cannot know. There are some such indications, both in the general progress of his thinking and in express statements. He falsely contrasted "Rome and reason" in one of his books; yet elsewhere expressed the independent opinion that "Rome and its offshoots" were "to be one of the main dependencies of the coming generations"; "our children or grandchildren are going to need it." He went so far as to affirm that "the Roman Catholic Church" was "the only one logically safe;" and but a short time before his death published his conviction that the Catholic faith was "a better one to die by than most of the harder creeds which have replaced it."

These are but hints of his tendency, of the direction in which his mind and heart were turning. In spite of inconsistencies and contradictions he does seem to have shown, as he went on in life, an increasingly earnest desire for deliverance from human bondage and for a conscious breathing of God's freedom; a desire to put away error and to seize truth; to come out of darkness into God's own light. "*Do I not ask for light?*" he cries, "*God knows I do.*" If that plaint was sincere, can it be doubted that it did not go unanswered?

JAMES FIELD SPALDING.
CONCORD, MASS.

[1] Preface to *The Guardian Angel*, p. xiv.

THE ATTRIBUTE AND NOTE OF SANCTITY IN THE CHURCH.

THE sanctity of the Church is a topic whose discussion is more difficult than that of unity, catholicity or apostolicity. The proposition that the Church is holy is commonly taken to mean that it is a society composed of members who are holy. Polemics against the Catholic Church consist largely in a recital of sins and crimes imputed to the members, but especially to the rulers, of the Church. These indictments may be true statements of facts, or exaggerations or calumnies. They are made the basis of a plea that the Catholic Church is not a holy but an unholy society, and therefore not the true Church.

Moreover, comparisons are made of the Catholic Church with the collective Protestant sects or some one of them, intended to prove that in so far as the true Church is a visible society composed of holy members, it is to be found, at least in part, among the disciples of Luther and Calvin.

The controversy is to a great extent carried on as a dispute concerning the relative moral conditions of nations and peoples nominally Catholic or Protestant, by means of statistics. It has also become more a question of civilization and political and social economy than of the Christian religion, of Christian piety and virtue.

Important and interesting as discussions of this kind may be in able and honest hands, they are not conclusive, unless moral facts and conditions are traced to their causes and principles. If these are cited by a Catholic advocate in favor of Catholicism he must show the relation of cause and effect. If those of an opposite character are cited againt the Catholic Church, these supposed facts must be traced to Catholicism as their cause, or the plea is null.

At the very outset it is necessary to distinguish between unity, sanctity, catholicity and apostolicity as Attributes of the Church, and the same as Notes. As attributes they are her essential, constitutive principles, existing in her in all their perfection from the beginning. As notes they are made visible in their effects, by causing actual unity, actual sanctity, actual extension and multiplication, actual succession of Popes and bishops from St. Peter and the Apostles, in a multitude of members through all ages and nations. As notes they are four outward and visible marks

belonging exclusively to the one true Church and to no other society whatever. These notes manifest and distinguish from all sects claiming to possess the doctrine and law of God and of Christ, that One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church which Jesus Christ founded, which is the true Kingdom of God on the earth.

The note of sanctity, as has been already said, must not be confused with the attribute of essential sanctity which the Church possesses. This essential sanctity is something higher and more perfect than the actual holiness of the individual members of the Church. It is not easy to define that being which the Church possesses in itself as distinct from the aggregate of its living members. Metaphors are employed to express its specific nature, the Body of Christ, the Spouse of Christ, which of course cannot be interpreted in a literal sense, but only in an analogical manner, and by a figure of personification.

It is really Jesus Christ Himself, in His own Person, who is the principle and the cause by His Holy Spirit of all the sanctifying effects produced in men, individually and collectively, through the medium of the Church, its teaching, discipline and sacramental ministrations. The Church is called His Body, that is, His Mystical Body, by analogy with His Natural Body, because it is a visible organism, animated by His indwelling Spirit. As the Head of this Mystical Body, the chief of its Apostolic hierarchy, He holds all its organic parts in unity by the operation of His Holy Spirit. As the author and source of grace He communicates to it sanctity. As the possessor of sovereign power He makes it capable of universal extension and perpetuity. He is the sole Lord of the world, and therefore there is but one authority, which is His own, exercised through his vicegerents. It is His infallibility which makes the oral and written teaching of the Apostles, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to be the Word of God and a divine revelation. It is the same infallibility which by the assistance of the Holy Spirit gives to the Apostolic hierarchy its prerogative as the authentic and unerring guardian, witness and judge of the divine revelation.

It is Jesus Christ who offers Himself as the Lamb of God to the Father, and gives Himself as the celestial food to the faithful in the Holy Eucharist; Who regenerates in Baptism, seals the baptized with the Holy Spirit in Confirmation, absolves the sinner in Penance and gives the Sacerdotal character in Ordination. The Church, with its ministries and sacraments, is the visible organ of His divine operation, and is therefore called His Body.

Under this figure, the Church is, in a sense, identified with Christ.

Under the figure of the Spouse of Christ, it is represented as dis-

tinct from Him, and personified as His counterpart, the Eve of the new Adam, the mother who bears and nourishes the children of whom He is the Father in the order of regeneration. This figure presents the Church as the ideal of redeemed humanity, in the elect, regarded as destined to final glorification; and therefore described as clothed with a perfect and spotless sanctity. This sanctity is one of the essential attributes of the Church, which is One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic; and as the other constitutive and operative principles which are the very essence and nature of the Church cannot be identified with the effects produced, but must be distinguished from the actual phenomena effected in the successive ages and different regions of the world, so also in the case of this attribute of sanctity. And even more so. The principle of unity, catholicity and apostolicity in their active operation, produce their effects in a collective multitude united in the profession of one faith, extended by their number through many ages and countries, under the government of a hierarchy composed of many bishops succeeding to the Apostles. It is this universal and organized society, which is One, Catholic and Apostolic. But sanctity in the sense of moral and spiritual virtue subsists in single, individual subjects. Therefore, the obvious sense of the proposition that the Church is Holy, which suggests itself to the mind at the first sight is, that it is a society composed of a multitnde of saints. It is easy to recognize the fact that the multitude of the members of the Church make up a body which is One, Catholic and Apostolic. But it is far from evident that the Church is a society exclusively composed of saints, even in its hierarchy.

The attributes of unity, sanctity, catholicity and apostolicity are not directly and immediately in themselves the notes or marks of the true Church. They are not perceived directly, but in their effects, and are manifested by the phenomena which they produce. In its essential, organic nature, the Church is a hierarchy, beginning in the college of Apostles under St. Peter, as a visible, organic corporation, animated and vivified by the Holy Spirit, with power to perpetuate and extend itself in unity, by Apostolic Succession, and to transmit doctrine and grace from their source in Jesus Christ, indefectibly, until the end of the world. The presence and operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church are made manifest and visible by its historical development in time and space, as a society binding a multitude in unity of faith and order, proclaiming an unchanging doctrine and moral law, and preserving an unbroken succession in the supreme pontificate and episcopate. This phenomenon manifests the attributes of the Church founded by Jesus Christ—the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church—which become in this manner notes, or characteristic marks by which

the true Church can be distinguished from all sects, singly and collectively, whose claim to church privileges is spurious. The four notes are found in a visible and illustrious manner in that society which is the true Church, and are not to be seen in any other. It is easy to show that the Church which is known everywhere as the Catholic Church, and is governed by the Roman Pontiff, possesses the three notes of unity, catholicity and apostolicity solely and exclusively. The note of sanctity can also be vindicated for the same Church in the most conclusive manner. Nevertheless, it requires a longer and more laborious explanation to remove the difficulties and objections which envelop with their obscure mist the glorious edifice of the Church, hiding from the view of the world that sanctity which, once made visible, is the brightest and most evident mark of a divine origin and an in-dwelling presence of the Holy Spirit.

As an essential attribute of the Church, sanctity is a gift of the Holy Spirit, consecrating the Apostolic hierarchy as His medium of teaching infallibly a pure doctrine of faith and morals, and imparting through sacraments and discipline the grace which produces personal sanctity in all its grades, from the baptismal innocence of the infant to the sublime virtues of the most exalted heroes.

As a note of the Church, sanctity must be an effect of the principle of sanctity, visible and evident, together with the other notes, in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and in this Church exclusively. It consists first of all in the perpetual unchanging proclamation of the true and pure Faith, that is, of the revealed dogma and moral law entrusted by Christ to the Apostolic hierarchy. This includes the proposition of the ideal of supernatural sanctity derived from the example of our Divine Lord. This ideal is unique and without a parallel and is presented only by the Catholic Church.

The principle of sanctity, being vital and operative, must have the power not only of proposing the ideal of ordinary moral virtue and the higher grades of heroic sanctity in a theoretical manner, but also of producing an actual reality which conforms to the ideal of sanctity and exemplifies it. The note and mark of sanctity is therefore exhibited in the most evident and brilliant manner by the multitude of martyrs and other heroes in a continuous and unbroken succession whose sanctity is illustrated and sanctioned by miracles. These supernatural phenomena are not found in any of the schismatical and heretical sects which broke away from the Catholic Church from the first to the sixteenth century, nor in those which have arisen during the last three centuries. It is impossible to present them in a brief exposition in such a way as to

give them their due and convincing effect. It would require at least one large volume to do this in a satisfactory manner. It is necessary to read the history of the lives of the saints in order to appreciate the evidence they afford that there is but One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, founded by Jesus Christ, the ecclesiastical society governed by the Roman Pontiff as its supreme head. The general and dense ignorance of authentic ecclesiastical history which prevails, together with the gross and extensive falsifications of heretical and infidel writers, have obscured the note of sanctity, and have involved the glorious fabric of the Catholic Church in a mist which it is very difficult to disperse.

The principle of sanctity in the Church has not only produced the most sublime effects of actual sanctity in its members who have been exalted to the highest grades of heroic virtue, it has wrought a social regeneration of entire nations, educated them in a new and Christian civilization, made millions of virtuous and pious Christians, and converted many more millions from a sinful or careless life into sincere penitents. It has peopled heaven with thousands of millions of innocent souls, translated to the kingdom of God in their infancy, and with a countless host of the elect in all the gradations of merit, to inhabit the many mansions of the celestial country.

Nevertheless, it is precisely the note of sanctity which is most vehemently denied to the Catholic Church by her enemies, especially those of the Calvinistic and Puritan type. They object to her claim that she is the medium and instrument of the Holy Spirit for the sanctification of men, that many of her members are sinners, and that sins have abounded in all times and nations which have professed her faith and owned her authority. Alas! it is impossible to deny the fact. But the inference is false. It is implied that the Church ought to make and keep all her members holy, and to banish sin from her domain, which is a false premise.

The grace of God and the sacraments are not magical in their working, and coercive either physically or morally over the mind and will, the character and conduct of rational and free subjects. They give the power to will and to do in the supernatural order of faith, hope and charity, but the willing and doing must proceed from the free co-operation of the human will with divine grace. The regenerated children of God are placed in a state of probation, trial and combat, in which they have to work out their salvation with fear and trembling. They inherit a fallen nature, not perfectly repaired and restored by regeneration. Concupiscence remains, the world is full of dangers and seductions, evil spirits lie in wait along the path of life. Those who sin, sin from their own weakness and malice. However numerous sinners may be, and

however grievous and frequent may be the sins of the members of the Church, the Church is no more responsible than is the Holy Spirit. No one can pretend that the Catholic Church is responsible for the schisms and heresies which have had their cause and origin in rebellion against the authority of the Church. No more can she be held responsible for sins against the moral law which she proposes to her children.

It is chiefly, however, the moral delinquencies of the prelates and rulers of the Church which furnish an offensive weapon against her sanctity to her enemies. Cardinals and bishops, some of whom have occupied very high places in the Church and in the State, have been very worldly men, no better than the generality of secular princes, sometimes even more grievously reprehensible in their moral conduct.

Even in some of the popes, the character of the secular prince has been more conspicuous than that of the pontiff; and there are several who have fallen short of that exemplary sanctity which ought to characterize every bishop, but especially the one who is Christ's Vicar on the earth, and a few, particularly three, who disgraced the Apostolic See by their grievous transgressions of the moral law.

The first Pope who grievously dishonored the tiara was Stephen VII., elected, A.D. 896, by the influence of Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, one of the rival claimants of the imperial crown; but his reign was soon cut short by a violent death. The second on this list of dishonor came thirty-six years later, in 1032—a young prince, not out of his teens, raised to the papal throne by the dominant family of the Conti, who scandalized Christendom by his dissolute life for thirteen years, after which he was induced to abdicate, and who passed the last years of his life doing penance in a monastery. The Pope whom we place third on the list was the too-famous Alexander VI., whose election and reign were really the most grievous and deplorable disgrace which has ever befallen the Roman See. This is so, because he was freely elected by the College of Cardinals, without any serious shock to the moral sense of Christendom. The worst accusations which certain writers have made against Alexander, and the other Roman Borgias, are gross calumnies. Nevertheless, the effort which some well-meaning Catholic writers have made to rehabilitate his private moral character as Cardinal and Pope, has failed. He was faithless to his vow of chastity. This is enough to leave an indelible mark of disgrace upon his name, and upon the names of all who promoted him to the dignities of the Roman Church, because they were more anxious to secure the services of an able statesman and sovereign than to give the Church a holy chief pastor. He was

not, however, as bad as Luther, who took a recreant nun for his mistress, and gave the Landgrave of Hesse a dispensation to keep two wives; or as Cranmer, the apostate Hermann of Cologne, and other violators of their solemn vows, whose names are enrolled with honor in the Protestant annals. If Alexander had been merely a king, and not also a pontiff, his sins would have been condoned and his reign reckoned as illustrious. Even Cæsar Borgia would have received a milder censure on the historic page, were it not that a relentless hatred of the Catholic religion and the Roman Church has driven her enemies to paint every exposed surface of her walls in the blackest colors. It is a singular fact, that a great grandson of Alexander was St. Francis Borgia, one of the most illustrious saints of Spain and of the Society of Jesus, who restored and increased the glory of the name of Borgia, which Alexander and Cæsar Borgia had defaced. This is one of those strokes of Divine Providence, bringing good out of evil, like that which made Solomon, the child of a double crime, the builder of the Temple of Jerusalem. It is in this way that God counteracts the wickedness of men always tending to destroy his kingdom on the earth, and always baffled.

In this way it has happened, that a crisis, to outward seeming fatal, has, in more than one instance, preceded a new development and triumph of the Church contending against the gates of hell. The Church has passed through several disastrous epochs, in which evils existing within her own bosom have been more dangerous than violence from without can ever be.

Her modern enemies, unable to deny that her catholic and apostolic unity, founded on the impregnable Rock of Peter, has survived all these disasters, are driven to contend that she has failed in sanctity. They strive to prove that in the moral convulsions of evil days the Papacy became an evil and immoral power; that wickedness was enthroned when sinners sat upon the throne; that the priesthood became unholy when possessed by unholy men; and the sacrifice was defiled when offered by unworthy hands.

This was the heresy of Wiclef and John Huss. Could the Roman See be called "The Holy See," and be really the supreme and infallible tribunal of doctrine when it was ruled by a dissolute youth like Benedict IX.? Is it possible that such a man as Alexander VI. could be the Vicar of Christ? Such is the argument which is made a plea in bar of all the evidence that Our Lord made St. Peter supreme head of the Church, and that Benedict and Alexander were his successors and heirs in this office. It suffices to rebut this plea to ask: Could it be possible that Judas was one of the Twelve Apostles appointed by the Lord Himself? Could

Caiphas and other wicked men, his predecessors, have been the High Priests of God? Could Balaam have been an inspired prophet?

The enemies of the Church seek to strengthen their cause by exaggerating such historical facts as serve their purpose, adding many other pretended facts, which are either falsehoods or uncertainties, calumniating innocent pontiffs and prelates, drawing false perspectives, and placing historical events in an odious light, in a mist of misleading, distorted and deceptive views, and drowning the whole landscape under a flood of rhetorical invective.

That period which covers a portion of the ninth and tenth centuries, and is justly called the Iron Age of Roman history, affords an abundance of material for the scavengers of polemics. It is true that the great flock of obscene birds has taken flight, scared away by Maitland, Ranke and other non-Catholic historians of the modern school, who have written in a more scholarly and honest temper than that which formerly prevailed. We would not apply any disrespectful epithet to writers of this class, some of whom have really rendered important service to the Catholic cause.

About the middle of the tenth century occurred the extraordinary episode of the brief domination in Rome of a woman, the famous Marozia, which has been made the basis of a most disgraceful historical romance.

Theophylact, Roman senator, and Alberic, Count of Tusculum, were the two most powerful Roman nobles during the glorious pontificate of John X. (914–928). The wife of Theophylact was Theodora; Theodora, the younger, and Marozia were his daughters; and the latter was the wife of Alberic. These women, and another princess, Ermengarda, Marchioness of Ivrea, were remarkable for their beauty, accomplishments and ambition; and have been plentifully bespattered with filth from the sewer of the infamous Luitprand, who was himself an example of how unscrupulous a Catholic bishop can be, and how much mischief he can do. Alberic having been killed in battle, Marozia married Guido, Marquis of Tuscany, brother of Ermengarda; and the three set on foot a revolution in which Rudolph, the nominal emperor, was displaced by Hugo of Provence, who was crowned at Pavia. Guido and Marozia took violent possession of Rome, imprisoned Pope John X., who soon after died, and caused, after two short pontificates, the election of a younger son of Alberic and Marozia, under the name of John XI. Guido having soon after died, Marozia ruled alone, with the titles of Senator and Patrician for about two years. Ambitious of becoming empress, she married her brother-in-law, Hugo, a marriage which was invalid by the

ecclesiastical laws, unless a dispensation, which she could hardly have neglected to obtain, had been granted. The two were preparing to consummate their ambitious projects, when Alberic, the elder son of Alberic and Marozia drove them out and seized on the sovereignty. Marozia was banished, was repudiated by Hugo, on the ground of the canonical impediment, and henceforth disappears from view. Alberic governed wisely and well for twenty-two years, preserving always harmony with the Popes, although for some unknown reasons he kept his brother during the remaining five years of his life in an honorable imprisonment.

Alberic, who had kept up the appearance of governing as the Pope's vicegerent, wishing to end the anomalous division of the spiritual and temporal sovereignties, had his son Octavian educated in the clerical state, that he might reunite both in his own person, which was effected by his election to the pontificate under the name of John XII., who reigned eight years, and called to his aid Otho, the king of Germany, with whom he had afterwards a violent dissension. John XII. is one of the Popes against whom most grievous charges are made, the justice of which we cannot here consider. The tenth age, with all its vicissitudes, was finally closed in 1046, when the series of Hildebrandine Popes commenced, and a new era of the Church and empire, the mediæval period.

We have made this rapid sketch in order to gain a criterion for estimating the justice of the infamous appellation of "Pornocracy" which a distinguished writer has applied to the domination of the family to which Marozia belonged, and in which she played a conspicuous part. It is the vilest term in the English language, and were it not veiled under its Greek form, could not be used with decency. We are ashamed to quote it, and we regret to find it on the page of a Protestant clergyman for whom we have a great respect and a sincere friendship.

Dr. Storrs, who has written many beautiful things about St. Bernard, and even Gregory VII., has dipped his brush in the paint pot of Luitprand to blacken the face and figure of the Roman Church. We fear that he has been moved, like so many others, by the fear lest the tribute to saints and prelates of the Roman Church, extorted by truth and honesty, should make an impression in favor of her claim to be the true Church of Christ.

His ordinary hearers and readers would naturally infer from his language, that the Roman Church became what the old Puritans of England and New England often expressed by a very coarse epithet. The dominion of the Scarlet Woman of Babylon is most exactly expressed by the term "Pornocracy," which is the genuine authentic Protestant idea of the Roman Church.

I have no wish to vindicate Marozia and the group of Italian princes to which she belonged. They were guilty of acts of persecution and oppression of the Roman Church and the Pope, and probably even of assassinations. But there is no evidence that Marozia was such a character as Catharine II. of Russia, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Madame du Barry and Lola Montez. She was married to princes of the highest rank; her sons, Prince Alberic and John XI., were born of her lawful wedlock with the Count of Tusculum, and several of her more remote descendants were illustrious in their character as well as their rank. It is not likely that Alberic, Guido and Hugo would have formed and preserved an alliance with a woman of infamous conduct. And although Hugo repudiated her when she could no longer serve his ambition, his only pretext was the canonical impediment of affinity. The only authority for the heap of foul charges against the Conti family and others which have been spread like dead fish upon many a page of history, is that unscrupulous liar, Luitprand, entirely discredited since the discovery of the Chronicle of Flodoard and the historical researches of Muratori.

Let me ask, now, before leaving Marozia in her obscure tomb, who and what was Ann Boleyn, the mother of the English Reformation and of Queen Elizabeth, declared illegitimate by an Act of Parliament, never repealed? I will not deny the virginity of Elizabeth, but was there no "Pornocracy" in the reign of Henry VIII., and would it not be more modest in those who are derived from him as their religious ancestor to avoid this field of controversy?

No argument can be derived from the sins of rulers and members of the Church against the sanctity of the Church herself. The ideal church is never perfectly reduced to actual reality in the external, collective society of Christians. A society exclusively composed of saints has never existed on a large scale upon the earth. It is not the plan of Divine Providence to shut out moral evil from His spiritual kingdom by an exercise of power. Rebellion broke out among the angels, and the human race in its head, revolted. The rebellion is in the way of being subdued by a warfare between the powers of good and evil under the leadership of the Son of God and Lucifer. But on the earth the good and the evil are not absolutely separated; they are intermingled, and the whole history of the people of God shows the perpetual struggle in its very bosom of the opposing elements. It is the will of God to form His spiritual kingdom out of these imperfect and contending elements, and to make it perfect in the peace of a future state, the celestial Jerusalem.

In the Church Militant there have been dark and disastrous

periods and events which it is painful to contemplate. Saints have been mingled with imperfect Christians, the good and worthy with the unworthy, and with the criminal and vicious. Sins have abounded and disorders have prevailed in the ecclesiastical state. There can be no doubt that the tenth age was a dark and disastrous period, and that in the age sometimes called of Leo X., just preceding the Reformation, there was a crying need of a reform both of discipline and morals. But the relaxation of discipline and morals was caused, not by the influence of Catholic principles, theoretical or practical, but by violation or neglect of the same. Reform was not to be undertaken by revolution in principles, doctrine, organization and discipline, revolt against authority, or any violent means, but by restoration, return to the original and ideal Catholic type, the exercise of legitimate authority in the Church and by the hierarchy.

Declamation against bad, unworthy or worldly and careless prelates, against abuses and moral disorders, is of no force against the Catholic cause, unless these evils can be traced to their origin in the doctrine and polity of the Catholic Church, as their logical and legitimate development. An atheist arguing, from evils in the world, against the theology of Christianity and Theism, is bound to show that this theology makes God the author of sin. An infidel arguing against Christianity from moral evils in Christendom is bound to show that Christianity is responsible for them, and is therefore an immoral and demoralizing religion.

The anti-Catholic plea is merely a kind of inconsistent, incoherent form of the same argument. It has no logical but only a rhetorical force, depending entirely on the ignoring of the true issue by the pleader and the ignorant prejudices of his audience.

The Church is holy because she has always taught a pure and holy doctrine and preserved all the sanctifying means of grace, and has sanctified all who have been docile to her teaching and law in all grades of holiness from the lowest to the highest. She is to be estimated by her genuine and most perfect boughs and fruits, and not by such as are decayed or severed, worm-eaten or rotten.

Whoever is not blind or prejudiced must admit that the papacy and the episcopate have been the great religious and moral powers in the civilized world. Of the 250 popes some 40 have been martyrs or canonized saints; many more have been eminently holy, and of the remainder only a few have been unworthy of their high office. The genuine character and spirit of the papacy are represented and personified in such pontiffs as Clement the First, Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Leo IX., Gregory VII., Innocent III., Pius V., Pius IX. and Leo XIII. There have been many thousands of bishops, some millions of priests and hundreds of

millions of the faithful. The true representatives of the episcopate have been such men as Athanasius, Basil, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Patrick, Boniface, Remigius, Fisher, Fenelon, Cheverus, Carroll.

There are names of sinners holding high offices in the catalogue of Catholic prelates. But they are not inscribed in the roll of honor in ecclesiastical history. It contains no such names as those of Timothy Aelurus, Photius, Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, or, among princes, George of Saxony, Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Murray. Of those who have deserved honorable mention on the historic page, although there are many who were worthy of canonization, and a much larger number who have resembled more or less closely the saints who have obtained this honor, there are none who have fallen short of the Catholic standard of heroic virtue who have been canonized by ecclesiastical authority, or by the informal verdict of public opinion in the Church. Constantine, Charlemagne, Charles V., Richelieu, those popes and bishops of provincial churches in whom the princely has predominated over the pontifical character, and many others, whether ecclesiastics, statesmen or leaders of thought, who have to a certain extent deserved well of the Church and of human society, have received due credit not unmingled with censure from the judgment of impartial history.

That the effect of the teaching and discipline of the Church has been to produce at all times and everywhere in the midst of the sins and miseries which have only too much abounded in Christendom such abundant fruits of religious and moral virtue as to make the note of sanctity clearly manifest, only the bigoted or the ignorant can dare to deny.

This note is claimed, however, for the Roman Church *exclusively*, and there are many who will readily admit that she has it in common with the sects which are regarded as part of the Christian Church, while vehemently denying that it is her *exclusive mark*.

They contend that religion and virtue flourish within other so-called churches not included in the communion of the Roman Church.

I have no wish to deny or to minimize the existence of the natural virtues, even among Jews, Mohammedans and Pagans. It is, however, out of place here to consider any question in respect to any of these. I am concerned only with the Christian sects. It would be folly to deny that the natural virtues flourish to a great extent among their adherents, and I see no reason why we may not admit that the supernatural virtues of faith, hope and charity subsist in a great number of sincere and religious persons, separated

from the external communion of the Church, but virtually and spiritually united with it.

However, no matter how many members the sects may have who are holy, their holiness is not derived from any sect, but from the Catholic Church. No sect which has separated from the Catholic Church has ever effected anything for the religious and moral welfare of mankind, or possessed either the attribute or the note of sanctity. The Novatians were indeed strict in their moral doctrine and conduct, but their rigorism was injurious to the cause of religion and morality. The swarm of heretical sects in the early ages were infamously immoral and brought disgrace on the Christian name. The mediæval heretics were a nuisance not only to the Church, but to society and the state. The Lutheran reformation, on the showing of its own disciples, produced an outbreak of immorality and caused untold miseries in Europe. The clergy of the schismatical sects in the east and west have certainly been the instruments of much religious and moral good to their people. They have accomplished this good work by means of sacraments, the Bible, the creeds, the doctrinal and moral truths and precepts retained and inherited from the old Catholic traditions.

Their heresy and rebellion are in themselves only noxious and demoralizing, tending to the destruction of Christianity.

The Calvinistic system, the most logical and complete doctrinal system of the Reformation, destroys all foundation of morality, by making God the author of sin. It is the theory of an immoral universe, worse than the chance medley universe of atheism.

Protestantism, by denying the indissolubility of marriage, has subverted one of the principal foundations of social morality.

The very first principles of Protestantism having become liberated and free to develop, are undermining the whole fabric of supernatural religion, whose downfall must cause Christian civilization to tumble into ruin.

The Note of Sanctity as an exclusive mark of the Catholic Church, shines out most brilliantly in the numerous and unbroken series of martyrs and saints, whose heroic sanctity is glorified and attested by a continuous succession of miracles.

There are, indeed, Christian heroes, not formal members of the Roman Church. Some have died, and others, no doubt, have been willing to die for their Christian profession. But they fall short of the highest Catholic ideal, they are scattered single stars and not a galaxy, and the miraculous element is wanting. The diffused sanctity of the multitude of good Christians is a kind of penumbra to the brilliant central light of the saints.

It remains true, at last, that it is not easy to bring the Note of Sanctity vividly before the minds of the majority. It is the unity

and catholicity of the Church which are most strikingly visible and apparent as her exclusive marks. Her apostolic descent is questioned by none of those who claim the same succession. Her sanctity is sufficiently obvious to destroy all prejudice against the evidence for her exclusive claim derived from her manifest and sole possession of the notes of unity and catholicity.

The history of Christendom, like the history of the world since the fall of Adam, is a sad one, brimful of the record of crimes and miseries. The great obstacle to the spread of the Gospel and the conversion of the heathen is the wickedness of Christians. All Christians are involved in the common disgrace of the Christian name and profession. The children of the Reformation, especially those of England and America, have been in the habit of posing as saints, striking an attitude as if they were inspired prophets, and uttering denunciations of the Catholic Church as a society of sinners.

A great change has, however, taken place among the better and more enlightened class of Protestants within the last half-century. A proof of this is furnished by the language lately used by a well-known English writer, Mr. R. W. Hutton, at the unveiling of the statue of Cardinal Newman in Kensington, London, last July:

"I think we may say that we Protestants have learned from him (Newman) a great lesson. This at least is true, that his long life of winning austerity, the tender glow of his piety and the fundamental steadiness of a nature so strangely sympathetic have rendered it absolutely impossible for any one who really knows his writings ever again to speak of the faith of his Church with anything like the stolid and almost brutal contempt so common amongst us sixty years ago.

"To some extent surely he has helped Roman Catholics to understand, perhaps to love, Protestants. To a very great extent he has helped Protestants to understand and love, not only the thinkers, but the popular mind of his own great Church."—(*London Tablet*, July 18.)

These expressions are of great importance, not as denoting the sentiments of a single individual, but as the testimony of a competent witness to a general fact, otherwise quite patent.

This testimony shows the wonderful power which one saintly prelate has exercised, far more by his holiness than by his genius, to conciliate the respect of non-Catholics to the Catholic Church. And this proves what an influence the Church would gain if her Note of Sanctity could be made to shine out brilliantly by exhibiting the splendid virtues of her saints of all ages. It shows that it is the manifestation of her sanctity which must chiefly give convincing and persuasive force to the preaching of her apostles, and to the evidence that she is the One, Catholic and Apostolic Church, founded by Jesus Christ.

The great mass of the people to whom we preach will look for

this Note of Sanctity, not in the history of past ages and other countries, but in the living, present examples of the prelates, clergy and faithful who are living amongst them. The example of bad and careless Catholics is the greatest stumbling-block in their way. They act on the maxim: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

A great zeal has been awakened for missions to non-Catholics. The great desire and effort of the Holy Father are for the recall of his strayed sheep into the one fold. The same spirit has been awakened throughout the Church, especially in England and America. If our separated brethren respect the clergy as holy men, and recognize in the body of the faithful the religious and moral virtues inculcated by the Catholic religion, their ears and hearts will be open to the truth. Unity and harmony in the hierarchy, discipline, zeal and exemplary life in the clergy, piety and morality in the faithful, will make a more powerful and salutary impression than outward prosperity, splendor of worship, the logic and eloquence of the champions of the faith.

It is the Note of Sanctity which gives lustre and splendor to the other notes of the Church.

When the dark cloud which hides this splendor is scattered, the Church stands as a great fact, present before the mind as the sun is present to vision, exhibiting itself as true by its unity, universality and sanctity. The triumph of Christianity was achieved by Jesus Christ through the Catholic Church. It has continued in the Apostolic Succession of the Supreme Pontiffs and the Episcopate, unchangeable until now, and it must continue until the end of the world. Future conquests of the Kingdom of Christ over the Kingdom of Satan can be achieved only by the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, through which were achieved all the conquests of the past.

AUGUSTINE F. HEWIT.

THE JESUITS AND NEW FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

LES JESUITES ET LA NOUVELLE FRANCE AUX XVII^e SIECLE, d'après beaucoup de Documents inédits. Par le *Père Camille de Rochemonteix*, de la Compagnie de Jésus.[1]

THE JESUITS IN NORTH AMERICA. By *Francis Parkman.*[2]

THE OLD RÉGIME IN CANADA. By *Francis Parkman.*

LA SALLE AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST. By *Francis Parkman.*

"IN writing the history of the Society of Jesus," says Father de Rochemonteix, in his Introduction,[3] "we are also writing that of the French colony, for they have remained inseparable, living the one by the other and mutually helping each other." The author has had access, as indicated on his title page, to "many unedited documents;" all the archives of the Society, in Canada as well as in Europe, have been placed at his disposal. Among the most important of these he enumerates the "Historia Societatis Jesu, pars Vi^a, ab anno Christi, 1616 ad annum 1646, a P. Josepho Juvencis," the thirteenth book of which is devoted entirely to the mission in New France, under the tite of "Liber XIII. continens res gestas in Canada seu Novâ Franciâ," the famous "Relations," and the "Lettres des Missions."

The letters written by the missionaries were of three kinds: intimate personal letters, addressed to a friend, a superior, or to the Reverend Father-General, and never intended for publication; others, intended solely for members of the Order, from which extracts were made, published in a volume entitled "Annuae letterae Societatis Jesu; ad Patres et Fratres ejusdem Societatis,"[4] and lastly, those edited for the public, and intended to be printed, generally known as "Relations."

Each series of letters dealt, naturally, with matters of a different nature. Much that a missionary might feel at liberty to write of freely to his Superior, his Provincial, or to the General was, manifestly, unsuitable for publication, or even to be made known to the Society at large; questions of colonial policy, disagreements with secular authorities, unfortunate disputes between the civil

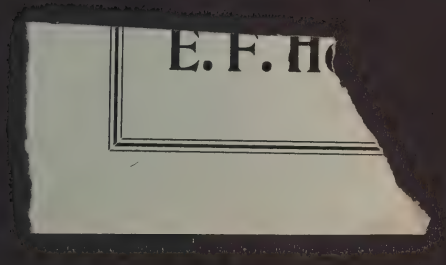
---

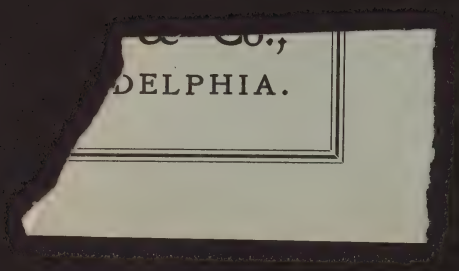
[1] 3 Vols. Paris, Letouzey & Ané, 1895.

[2] Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1892, 1893.

[3] P. v.

[4] Preface, p. ix.


E. F. H


DELPHIA.

and religious powers, between the bishops and the religious orders, could not, of course, be dealt with in "Relations" intended for general reading.

The "Relations," therefore, as edited, are only one source of the history of New France, and would, taken by themselves, form but an incomplete account. When supplemented, however, by the information derived from the other letters referred to—a task for which Father de Rochemonteix, a Jesuit himself, is peculiarly well fitted—we get a true insight into the course of events, their causes, their effects, as well as into the motives of the actors; a nearer view, it may be said, than that afforded by Parkman, who, whatever his qualities as a historian, is, as a Protestant, more or less "out of touch" with the spirit of the Society, and who, moreover, could not, from the nature of things, possess such an intimate acquaintance with its records, published and unpublished, as one who, many years a member of the Order, has evidently made those records a special study.

It is as well to insist on this difference between Parkman and Father de Rochemonteix, especially in regard to what may be termed "controversial" points. No man could, possibly, do more ample justice to the heroism and devotion of the Jesuit missionaries and martyrs than Parkman, especially in his "Jesuits in North America," to which we shall have occasion to refer more fully later on; and yet no one has so entirely misjudged those whom he terms "the later Jesuits." At the same time, it must be said, that Father de Rochemonteix is, in the truest sense, an impartial historian. "On every page," says a writer in "La Revue du Monde Catholique," of February 1, 1896,[1] "there is revealed a sagacious and penetrating spirit, solicitous above all things for the truth, ready to recognize the weaknesses and faults of his brethren in religion, when they commit them, but prompt also to defend them when he deems them unjustly attacked." He pictures men as they are; as they appeared to their contemporaries, to their religious superiors—who certainly understood the natures of those with whom they had to deal—as they reveal themselves in their most intimate personal correspondence. Such a portrait, if any can be, must surely be true to life.

The first missionary in what is now the Dominion of Canada was a Jesuit, Father Ennemond Massé. He had served first on the Acadian mission, but the history of Acadia, which, it would seem, merits separate treatment, must be passed over with this one single reference in the present article. Father Massé, "sighing only," according to the "Relations,"[2] "for the crosses and

[1] Reproduced in *La Verité*, of Quebec, March 21, 28, April 4, 11, 1896.

[2] "Les Jesuites," vol. i., p. 478.

sufferings of the New World," arrived in Quebec on the 19th of June, 1625. The capture of Quebec by the English under Louis Kertk, in 1629, obliged him and his comrades to return to France. This capture was a mere act of piracy on the part of Kertk, peace having been signed between France and England on April 24, 1629—a fact of which the English admiral was aware,[1] though Champlain was not—three months previous to the capitulation of Quebec, on July 19th of that year. By the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (March 29, 1632) all the posts occupied by the English in Acadia and in Canada were restored to France.[2]

This is the real beginning of the Jesuit missions in Canada. Three Jesuits, Paul le Jeune, Anne de Noué, and a brother, accompanied the provisional Governor, Emery de Caen, on his voyage to resume possession of New France, after three years of British domination. It was, moreover, by the deliberate choice of Richelieu himself, who was known to favor the Capuchins,[3] that the Jesuits were put in charge of the missions of New France, the Capuchins, with an honorable delicacy of feeling, having declined a task which they regarded as belonging of right to the two orders who had been expelled by the English, the Jesuits and the Recollets. Richelieu, having decided that it was for the advantage of the colony to be under the charge of a single religious order, had to choose between these two. As the Jesuits, in virtue of their rule, were at liberty to possess property and revenues—from which the Recollets were debarred—the Cardinal chose the former as likely to be less of a charge to the colony, and more able to attract the Indians—reasons of state, doubtless considered of a weighty nature.

Here is the decision, in its original form:[4]

"À *ces causes*, désirant en cela satisfaire aux ungs et aux autres, et que ce qui appartient aux Pères Jesuittes leur soit rendu afin qu'ils y travaillent à la gloire de Dieu; nous ordonnons que les Pères Paul Le Jeune, Anne de Nouë et Gilbert Buret, qui ont este nommez, . . . aillent reprendre possession des maisons et lieux qu'ils ont desja possédez au dit Québecq, pour y faire les fonctions conformément à leur institut."

The Jesuits have been accused of intriguing, in spite of their professions in a contrary sense, to bring about the exclusion of the

---

[1] "Les Jesuites," vol. i., p. 179.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 182. Parkman asserts (*Jesuits in N. A.*, p. 158) that, in 1642, "partial and ineffective measures were taken, with the countenance of Richelieu, for introducing into New France an order less greedy of seignories and endowments than the Jesuits"—viz., the Capuchins! This may well be compared with the statement in the text. Those who know Richelieu's character may best decide which is more likely to be the true account.

[4] P. 183, and note 3.

Recollets from the missions of New France. Abbé Faillon[1] writes that "the preference given to the Jesuit fathers by Cardinal Richelieu and the Company of Associates has served as a pretext to *some* to accuse these religious of having excluded the Recollets from the missions in Canada. . . . . If they went without the Recollets, it is because the latter did not present themselves at the embarkation; for, in the memoirs which the Recollets composed in their favor, they never complained that a passage was refused them in this year (1632)."

Were the missions to be undertaken such as might prove attractive to human ambition, and were the men themselves, as judged by their subsequent actions, likely to have been influenced by motives of mere jealousy of another order? Both questions, it is hoped, admit of an answer in the negative, by a simple relation of recorded facts, by the admissions of Parkman himself, who had, certainly, no bias in favor of the Jesuits.

"The lives of these early Canadian Jesuits," he writes,[2] "attest the earnestness of their faith and the intensity of their zeal. . . . . One great aim engrossed their lives—'for the greater glory of God.'" . . . .

Had Parkman said no more than this, he would have but done justice to the men who, when Canada was restored to France, "sighed for the crosses and the sufferings" of the Indian missions. That he should have thought it necessary to speak of "factitious humility," of "puerile superstitions" in the same breath with such a tribute to their zeal and earnestness, and that, too, in regard to men whose labors, sufferings and martyrdoms, as described by him, should silence such disparagement even if the charges made were true—which has to be proved—only goes to show that his version of their story needs to be compared with that of one who knows them better than he can possibly do, in order that we should really understand and appreciate it.

By the year 1637, there were twenty-three priests and six brothers on the mission,[3] assembled in the mission house of Notre Dame des Anges, at Quebec, of whom Paul Le Jeune was the superior. If we would judge of these men by the motives they professed, motives which afterwards showed themselves in all they did and suffered, it may be well to read the expression of them in their own words, as given in the "Monumenta Historiae Missionis Canadensis":[4]

"Seven of our fathers (while yet in France) had so divided the seven days of the week that each one by himself, on a different

---

[1] *Histoire de la Colonie Francaise* (*Les Jesuites*), vol i., p. 184, note 2.

[2] *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 7.

[3] *Les Jesuites*, vol. i., p. 189.

[4] P. 184, note.

day from the others, should offer the sacrifice of the Mass; that no day of the week should pass empty; that no day, in fact, of the whole year (might pass) . . . . but that the sacrifice of the Mass should be offered for the happy success of that undertaking," namely, their return to the missions of New France.

The mission house was almost entirely in ruins, and partly burnt by the English. Le Jeune gives the following description of it:[1]

"Elle a quatre chambres basses. La première sert de chapelle, la seconde de réfectoire, et dans ce réfectoire sont nos chambres. Il y a deux petites chambres passables, de la grandeur d'un homme en carré; il y en a deux autres, qui ont chacune huict pieds, mais il y a deux lits on chaque chambre. La troisième grande chambre sert de cuisine, la quatrième, c'est la chambre de nos gens."

Such was the first scene of their labors, the home to which they were to return—if alive—at intervals, from their missionary journeys. "Quebec was only a poor village, in which a few hundred Europeans . . . . sheltered themselves behind palisades made of trees . . . ."[2] The ideal of the colony was, however, above all things, religious. The Company of the Hundred Associates, who, at this time, had the practical control of New France, wished to "consecrate it entirely to God."[3] "To form the body of a colony," they said to Father Le Jeune, "we must begin with religion." They showed, moreover, a great zeal for the conversion of the savages.[4]

The history of New France in the seventeenth century is divided by Father de Rochemonteix into two periods: The first from the foundation of Quebec, in 1605, to the erection of the apostolic vicariate in 1658; the second from the latter date to the end of the century and beyond. The first duties of the missionaries were, of course, to their fellow-countrymen, who were, for the most part, all that they could wish; so much so, that they could say[5] that "l'accroissement des paroissiens est l'augmentation des louanges de Dieu."

A college was built, the offices of religion were duly performed. It seemed, indeed, as if, in the New World, there was to grow up a people who, in changing their climate, had changed their lives, and had returned to the simplicity and fervor of the first centuries.

It was the very ideal of a state-aided, state-controlled colony; a system of emigration as perfect as the seventeenth century could make it. Church and State combined to render it a success. Such a system has always been the ideal of many would-be reformers.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[2] *Revue des Monde Catholique* (*La Verité*), March 21, 1896.
[3] *Les Jesuites*, vol. i., p. 195.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 201, "Relation of 1636."

It was a favorite one with the late James Anthony Froude. That it ultimately failed must be attributed either to a fault inherent in the system itself, or to the race—some would say the religion—of those who attempted to carry it out. Race prejudice could, however, hardly venture to assert as much. Religious prejudice may be best met by the facts of the case. One such fact will, it is hoped, stand out self-evident, namely, that, had New France been true to the traditions of her founders, Champlain in the state and Le Jeune in religion, she might, but for the unconquerable hostility of the Iroquois, have escaped extinction.

But the chief task of the Jesuits was, after all, the conversion of the savages. The mission-field had been the true home of the Jesuit since the foundation of his order. The Society, not much more than a century old, had covered India, China and Japan with flourishing churches. They had missions in all parts of the world; everywhere the Jesuit sought out, beyond all others, the lost souls of the savages to win them to Christ. So it was that "amid cares of all kinds lavished on the colonists of Quebec, Miscou and Three Rivers, he did not forget his chief work, the moral regeneration of the savages, and of their conversion to Christianity."[1] Father de Rochemonteix adds that "the conquest of the savages of Canada was, from the first moment, the dearest preoccupation, the holy ambition of Father Le Jeune." The one great difficulty was, of course, their ignorance of the Indian languages. The trappers and hunters, who, from their intercourse with the natives, were familiar with the different dialects, refused to impart the knowledge they had acquired. These men, destined to prove one of the most serious obstacles both to the material and spiritual welfare of the colony—to its material welfare, by withdrawing themselves and others from agriculture, and the various useful occupations necessary to the settlement and progress of a colony, to a life of wandering in the forests and association with the savages; to its spiritual welfare, for the same reasons, as also for their persistent continuance in the deadly traffic of liquor—and of vice—with the savages, were, doubtless, afraid of losing their influence with the Indian tribes, should the Jesuits, whose zeal they knew so well, once gain a footing among them, by learning to speak to them in their own languages.

"There was," says Parkman,[2] "one resource, however, of which Le Jeune would fain avail himself. An Indian, called Pierre by the French, had been carried to France by the Recollet friars, instructed, converted and baptized. He had lately returned to Canada, where, to the scandal of the Jesuits, he had relapsed into

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[2] *Jesuits in North America*, p. 17.

his old ways . . . ." "The charitable superior," says Father de Rochemonteix, "took pity on him, clothed him, fed him and installed him as schoolmaster of the residence"[1] . . . . He was, however, not by any means trustworthy; "sa déloyauté vint a ce point de lui donner exprez un mot d'une signification pour un autre."[2] At the beginning of Lent he disappeared, with the very obvious intention of escaping its rigors. The pupil had, however, made a certain amount of progress. "He could, after having written, make himself understood by the savages."[3] It was a beginning, nothing more; it was not, by any means, sufficient for his purpose. There was only one other way possible, and he thus announces his intention of adopting it: "Je pense donc à m'en aller cet hiver prochain avec les sauvages."[4] He adds: "Si je veux savoir la langue, il faut, de nécessitè, suivre les sauvages . . . . Qui saurait parfaitement leur langue[5] serait tout puissant parmy eux, ayant tant soit peu d'eloquence. Il n'y a lieu au monde où la rhétorique soit plus puissante qu'au Canada."

Those who know the Indian as he is, not as he is pictured—as the savage, dirty, immoral, treacherous, drunken, improvident and superstitious, not as the "noble red man"—can form some idea of what it must have meant to a man like Le Jeune, scholarly, refined, not over robust, not yet fully accustomed to the rigors of the Canadian climate, to pass a winter with a band of Montagnais Indians,[6] sharing their lot, their travels, their hardships as one of themselves. For the Jesuit it was a simple matter of duty; Father de Nouë had already spent two or three weeks with them, at the end of which time "he appeared," says Parkman,[7] "sick, famished and half dead with exhaustion." The priest, as Le Jeune writes,[8] "faut prendre sa vie, et tout ce qu'on a et le ietter a' l'abandon, pour ainsi dire, se contentant d'une croix bien grosse et bien pesante pour toute richesse." He adds,[9] "j'y voudrais déjá être, tant j'ai du mal au cœur de voir ces pauvres âmes errantes sans aucun secours. . . . . On ne peut mourir qu'une fois, le plustost n'est pas toujours le pire."

"About the end of October (1633)" writes Father de Roche-

---

[1] *Les Jesuites*, vol. i., p. 233.
[2] *Ibid.*, "Relation of 1634," p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, "Relation of 1633," p. 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 234, "Relation of 1633," p. 7.
[5] *Algonquin.*
[6] These Indians "scattered over the Saguenay and Lake St. John, had taken refuge under the French cannon from their enemies, the Iroquois." *Les Jesuites*, vol. i., p. 235.
[7] *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 19.
[8] *Ibid.* "Relation" of 1633, p. 19.
[9] *Les Jesuites*, vol. i., p. 236.

monteix,[1] "he embarked in a canoe on the St. Lawrence . . . . and on the 12th of November the three bands entered the wooded districts near the sources of the Saguenay. Several feet of snow covered the ground . . . . " and through the winter woods Father Le Jeune, laden, as he says, "comme un mulet,"[2] followed his Indian guides from day to day. "At the fall of evening," the narrative continues,[3] "the encampment is made." When game was plentiful there was feasting; when it failed, hunger to the point of starvation. "Pour un bon disner," writes the missionary,[4] "il faut se passer deux ou trois jours de manger," and adds in another letter,[5] "le faim m'a pensé tuer." Well might he say that not ten priests out of a hundred could endure such a winter among the savages.

The worst of his sufferings were due to the malice of the sorcerer Carigonan, the brother of his guide, Pierre, known as "the apostate," who, fearing lest his influence over his countrymen should be lessened by that of the missionary, heaped on his head every indignity and insult, and barely stopped short of actual murder.

This veritable martyrdom lasted six months,[6] but was not without results, for he became fairly skilled in the Algonquin language; sufficiently so, at all events, to instruct his fellow-religious.[7] He had acquired, at the same time, that knowledge of the customs, laws, manners, religion and superstitions of the savages,[8] with which the "Relations" are filled, and, moreover, being of a practical nature, and a keen observer, he returned from his expedition with a definite scheme for the evangelization of the savages.[9]

This plan included both the "sedentary" or "stable" tribes, such as the Hurons, and the wandering tribes, such as the Algonquins and Montagnais. It was from among the first that he looked for the greatest number of conversions; gathered, as they were, round the different French settlements, it was comparatively an easy matter to reach them. Nor were the labors of the missionaries, nobly aided by those of the nuns under the saintly Marie de l'Incarnation, without results; the Relations tell of many conversions even in those early years.

As to the Algonquins and Montagnais, his plan was to gather them "in village bodies, near the French settlements, safe from the incursions of the Iroquois."[10] There were difficulties to be encountered; the Company of Richelieu were willing to give the land, but refused to supply the money.

The plan remained, therefore, for several years in abeyance.

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 236. [2] P. 237. [3] P. 238.
[4] P. 239. [5] P. 240. [6] P. 242.
[7] P. 243. [8] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.* [10] P. 240.

That the offer made in 1637 by Brûlard de Sillery, one of the original members of the Company of New France, should have been regarded as the result of divine intervention, who can wonder? "Having learned from the Jesuits and from their Relations," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[1] "the plans of Father Le Jeune for the conversion of the Algonquins and Montagnais, he wished to contribute to it, and did so, as he did everything, en grand seigneur." He gave, we are told,[2] "a considerable sum," and the residence of St. Joseph de Sillery, about four miles from Quebec, was founded in 1637.[3]

The result justified Le Jeune's expectations. There were thirty Algonquin families resident at the mission in 1641, one hundred and sixty-seven Indian Christians in 1645.[4] Their temporal welfare was as much cared for as their spiritual, the Jesuits were as diligent in teaching them agriculture and useful occupations as they were in instructing them in the mysteries of the faith. "Father Vimont, the superior of the mission," writes Mother Marie de l'Incarnation,[5] "in order to encourage the poor savages, leads them himself to their work, and works the ground with them . . . . finding nothing too low which concerns the glory of God and the good of these people."

Other missions of a similar character were founded on the model at Sillery, one at Three Rivers, in 1640,[6] by Father Buteaux,[7] at the trading-post of Tadoussac in the same year, Father de Quen being in charge of this latter mission.[8] "Doubtless," says Parkman,[9] "in their propagandism they (the Jesuits) were acting in concurrence with a mundane policy;[10] but, for the present at least, this policy was rational and humane. . . . . These sanguinary hordes, weaned from intestine strife, were to unite in a common allegiance to God and the king. . . . . Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

In October, 1644, war had broken out between the Hurons and their allies on the one side and the Iroquois on the other, "and terror reigned everywhere."[11] Father Druillettes, who had joined the mission in Quebec in 1643, was sent to spend the winter with a band of converted Algonquins, driven to flight from their settlements by fear of the Iroquois. "The Iroquois," they said, "are

---

[1] P. 247. [2] P. 248.

[3] *Ibid.* "The act of donation is dated 1639."

[4] *Ibid.* [5] P. 249. [6] P. 251.

[7] Killed by the Iroquois May 10, 1651, when on a missionary journey to the Attikamegs, or "White Fishes," on the St. Maurice River. P. 263.

[8] P. 254. [9] *The Jesuits in North America*, p. 44.

[10] This statement may be compared with the account given by Marie de l'Incarnation just quoted. [11] *Les Jesuites*, p. 268.

pursuing us everywhere; we are obliged to go several days' journey from the house of prayer, and, in our sojourn of several months, we ardently desire to have some one with us who may administer to us the Sacraments and teach us the way to heaven."[1]

The hardships undergone by Father Druillettes during his winter among the Algonquins were very similar to those described by Father Le Jeune, with this great difference, that those with whom he sojourned were devout and earnest Christians. Mass was said at every stopping place, in the silence of the forest, Sundays and festivals duly observed. "On Good Friday the savages kneeling at the foot of the Crucifix, near the rustic altar, prayed fervently for their enemies, the Iroquois. 'Lord,' they said, 'pardon those who pursue us with such fury, who put us to death with such rage; open their eyes.'"[2] "Those who know," writes Parkman, commenting on this scene,[3] "the intensity and tenacity of an Indian's hatred will see in this something more than a change from one superstition to another. An idea had been presented to the mind of the savage to which he had previously been an utter stranger. This is the most remarkable record of success in the whole body of the Jesuit "Relations," but it is very far from being the only evidence that in teaching the dogmas and observances of the Roman Church the missionaries taught also the morals of Christianity. When we look for the results of these missions we soon become aware that the influence of the French and the Jesuits extended far beyond the circle of converts. It eventually modified and softened the manners of many unconverted tribes." Further on he adds:[4] "As for the religion which the Jesuits taught them, however Protestants may carp at it, it was the only form of Christianity likely to take root in their crude and barbarous nature."

In 1646 Father Druillettes was sent on a mission to the Abenaquis on the Kennebec, and Father de Quen to the Porcupine Nation on the Saguenay. Both missions were successful, but the details are very similar to those already given. Parkman's account is practically the same as that of Father de Rochemonteix, being drawn, to a great extent, from the same sources, the principal one being, of course, the "Relations," but the "coloring," so to speak, is, as might be expected, wholly different. Parkman is, however, more just to those whom he designates as "of the earlier period;"[5] it is in the latter, and what may be called the more "controversial" period, that his statements need to be compared with those of the Jesuit historian.

It would, of course, be impossible, within the limits of a review

[1] *Ibid.* "Relation" of 1645, p. 14. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[3] *Jesuits in N. A.*, p. 319. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 320. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

article, to follow Father de Rochemonteix from point to point; we may, however, be able by means chiefly of quotations and summaries, to give a general idea of the contents of the three large volumes which he has written. That his aim was the historic "rehabilitation" of the Society of Jesus, does not lessen the interest of his work; "no religious order has ever united in itself," says Parkman,[1] "so much to be admired and so much to be detested." As to the first, as already said, he is, practically, at one with Father de Rochemonteix—though he cannot refrain from allusions to the other—so far, that is, as the Canadian Jesuits are concerned, and whom he professes to portray as they were;"[2] as to the second—as also said—his account must be compared with that of Father de Rochemonteix, of whom a writer in the "Universe"[3] says that "his aim has been to express, without fear of details, the participation of his brethren in this great work. He has treated the question, not without emotion, but without partiality, with a double respect, for his order and for the truth." The same writer adds,[4] "In this long march of apostleship and of civilization, the Jesuits did not lack sufferings and persecutions. They had to endure hunger, thirst, cold and heat. Another kind of cruel sufferings was reserved to them; in all parts of the world, they have met with enemies and calumniators."

"Death, however," the narrative continues,"[5] "was beginning to harvest these valiant laborers," and among the first was Father Anne de Nouë, for whom it was reserved that, as "he lived only of God and for God," that he should die "far from all human succor, aided and consoled by God alone."[6] He left Three Rivers on the 30th of January, 1646, in company with two soldiers and a Huron, for the purpose of administering the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion to the garrison of Fort Richelieu. "When evening came," we are told,[7] "they stretched themselves in a large hole, dug in the snow. . . . The two soldiers were very tired.' Father de Nouë noticed this, and, listening only to his charity, rose at two in the morning. . . . and started to go to the fort for help. . . . Three days later, . . . a soldier and two Hurons, sent to look for him, found the frozen body of the missionary four leagues above the fort. He was kneeling, with his head uncovered, his arms crossed on his breast, his eyes open and looking to heaven." A martyr of charity, truly. "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends." Father Ennemond de Massé died on the 12th of May the same year, and was buried at Sillery, where, in 1870, his bones were

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Quoted in *La Verité* May 9, 16 and 23, 1896. [4] *Ibid.*, May 23.
[5] *Les Jesuits*, vol. i., p. 274. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 275. [7] *Ibid.*

found near the old church and a monument erected to "the first apostle of New France."[1]

Father de Rochemonteix enters, somewhat at length,[2] into an account of the establishment at Notre Dame des Anges, at Quebec, of a seminary for Indian boys. This was the second half, so to speak, of Father Le Jeune's plan for the conversion of the savages, of the nomad tribes in particular, who, when converted, were, according to the charter of the Hundred Associates, as drawn up by Richelieu, to be considered as French citizens.[3] In so far as the nomad tribes were concerned, Father Le Jeune was, as we have seen, successful;[4] this plan of a seminary failed simply because it was at total variance with the nature and customs of the Indians themselves. The savage children were impatient of confinement and restraints, "they bewailed their lost liberty, they regretted their cabins and their woods, they saw nothing higher than hunting and fishing. . . . It was impossible to retain even the pupils who were most devoted to their masters. On the other hand, the parents did not understand the advantages of the institution."[5]

Indian families are, as a rule, by no means numerous, seldom exceeding three or four children,[6] who, from the very nature of Indian life, begin at a very early age to take a share in the duties and labors of the family. That is to say, that the Jesuits had to contend with all the difficulties of school attendance among an agricultural population in an extreme form. That, under such circumstances, the plan of the seminary had to be reluctantly abandoned, was only natural. The funds collected in France in support of this unsuccessful but most costly undertaking were usefully applied to the building of cabins for the Indian settlers at St. Joseph de Sillery.[7]

Nor were the Sulpicians who had come to Villemarie or Montreal[8] more successful in a similar undertaking. In both cases the priests were blamed by those who, living far from the scene of the labors they were so ready to criticise, were totally unable to realize the difficulties to be overcome. Talon, undoubtedly a great minister, actually "attributed the want of success to the bad will of the Jesuits,[9] who were accused of opposing the *Francization* of the Indians, for fear of losing the great influence they had gained or hoped to gain over them.[10] Richelieu's wish, as we have seen, was to make French citizens of the converted Indians; the

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 277. [2] Chapter V., pp. 278–318. [3] P. 278.

[4] In August, 1650, 600 Indians ("neophytes") walked in procession at Quebec on the Feast of the Assumption of the B. V. M. P. 264. Note.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 285. [6] P. 286. [7] P. 287.

[8] Founded by Maisonneuve in 1642. [9] P. 295. [10] P. 288.

idea was carried further, and French doctrinaire civilizers of the seventeenth century maintained that the only way to accomplish their purpose was to make them *Frenchmen!* Those who from long experience might naturally be supposed to know better were, of course, accused of factious opposition.

The dispute continued all through the period of which we are treating. Talon's report on the subject, written to Colbert, is dated 1667;[1] in 1691 Frontenac, then governor of the colony, who was a strong advocate of *Francization*,[2] wrote in favor of "always leaving the French with the Indians, in order to make them Frenchman while making them Christians,[3] and adduced in support of his proposal his twelve years of experience. As a matter of fact—it may be said of invariable experience—"this famous mingling," as Father de Rochemonteix terms it,[4] . . . "did no good to the Indians and injured the French." As Mother Marie de l'Incarnation said,[5] "A Frenchman becomes an Indian sooner than an Indian becomes a Frenchman." Here again all experience confirms the truth of the assertion.

It is as well to add that the English Governors of the New England colonies in recognizing the Jesuits as their most dangerous enemies, did them merely justice. In becoming Catholics, in adopting, that is, the religion of France, the Indians became loyal subjects of France without losing their native characteristics. This was all, and more than all, that the success of any such visionary scheme as that of making them *Frenchmen* could ever have accomplished. Their success is measured by the hatred they incurred on the part of their English neighbors, who charged them, justly enough, with making a French subject of every Indian converted to "Popery." The same charge has been made, wholly without justice, against the French missionaries in Uganda. That the convert should sympathize with all the feelings, religious and national, of his missionary is only natural. The possibility of any such charge has been removed in Africa by the appointment of English Catholic missionaries. But in New France the Jesuits were doing no more than their duty in making French subjects of their converts. New France was Catholic, New England Protestant; there was political as well as religious rivalry between the two colonies, every Indian tribe gained to either faith became, from the very force of circumstances, an ally on the one side or the other.

The dispute has been dwelt on somewhat fully, and, to some extent, out of the exact chronological order, wherein we have followed Father de Rochemonteix, for the reason that it affords an

[1] P. 292.
[2] There really appears no other term available.
[3] P. 274. Note.
[4] P. 293.
[5] *Ibid.*

explanation of the motives for the many charges subsequently made against the Jesuits. On the one hand, as said above, the English accused the Jesuits of being political intriguers—a charge repeated by Parkman, as we shall see; on the other, Talon, Frontenac, and others of the civil authorities, both in New France and at court, accused them of deliberately refusing to make Frenchmen of the Indians for fear of losing their influence. Neither Talon nor Frontenac was a man to brook opposition, real or imaginary, neither, whatever his other good qualities, was likely to view with favor those to whom he supposed such opposition to be due. The Puritans of New England had no love for the Jesuits at the best of times,[1] regarding them as emissaries of the "Kingdom of Antichrist,"[2] to say nothing of the fur-trade. Every success, religious or political—the two being, practically, coincident and inseparable—would be an added offence. That the Jesuits were successful, their enemies are witnesses; therefore, the charges made against them by the suspicious civil authorities fall to the ground. It is typical, however, of the lot of the Jesuits, that they should be assailed by secret enemies and open foes, that they should have been burdened "with the weight of life against English Protestants, suspicious governors, despotic ministers, and traders greedy for profit."[3] But all these facts and conditions once fairly understood, we shall be able to estimate at their true value many, if not all, of the charges made against the Society, and be grateful to Father de Rochemonteix for affording us "the satisfaction of seeing facts disprove the legends."[4]

The mission to the Hurons was of a different nature, in many respects, to that to the Algonquins. There were greater dangers and hardships to be encountered, but neither the one nor the other deterred the missionaries. To those familiar with Parkman's account,[5] the story as told by Father de Rochemonteix offers little that is new; there is simply, in this case, as throughout the whole history, the difference of view; that of Parkman being what we should naturally expect from an outsider whose admiration for the heroism of the Jesuits, great as it is, cannot overcome his prejudices; that of Father de Rochemonteix, on the other hand, being the view of one who is in sympathy with those of whom he writes, but whose sympathy does not, for all that, make him partial. He is as ready to expose their faults, where he believes them to exist, as Parkman himself; but in cases where either one or

[1] An act of the Colony of Massachusetts (1674) ordained that Jesuits entering the colony should be expelled, and, if they returned, should be hanged. *The Jesuits*, p. 324.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *L'Univers* (*La Verite*, May 9th).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Jesuits in N. A.*, pp. 42–126.

other of two motives is to be imputed, he chooses the better one, not the worse. It is, in fact, a conflict of opinion, rather than of evidence, the evidence being the same—to all intents and purposes —in both instances. Parkman interprets it in accordance with his Protestant "bias," Father de Rochemonteix in accordance with his Jesuit sympathies. In other words, Parkman reads the story as a foreigner, in a double sense—a stranger both to the language and the religion of those about whom he writes; Father de Rochemonteix as one intimately familiar to both. The question to be decided is—which reading is the more inherently probable of the two, more consistent, that is, with the characters of those spoken of, as evinced by their lives and by their deaths?

Parkman, it must always be remembered, is the descendant of a race of New England Puritans, at all times the bitterest and most uncompromising foes of "Popery," most especially of the French "Papists" with whom they were in constant conflict. Such race prejudice must, inevitably, be difficult to overcome; more especially as regards the Jesuits, who, of all men, have suffered most at the hands of "friends" and foes. "Protestants, Gallicans, Parliamentarians, Jansenists, students and Liberals," says the writer in "L'Univers" already quoted,[1] "implacable enemies or polite adversaries, have all taken a hand in it with a perseverance which want of success does not discourage." There was a time—it may be true still with not a few—when the word "Jesuit" was equivalent to "devil"—or not far short of it. "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Parkman is to be credited to the full for having ventured to tell the approximate truth—as far, that is, as he could—concerning the Jesuits, as Scott, before him, wrote in favor of Catholics and of monks; but in both, and in Parkman particularly, the malign influence of three centuries of Protestant tradition was too strong to allow of his seeing things in their true colors and in their real proportions.

Father de Rochemonteix, on the other hand, appeals to our confidence by his perfect candor. He states, in full, the charges made against his order by Abbé Faillon, Abbé Gosselin and others; he quotes, "chapter and verse," contemporary records, Jesuit and other; the most intimate personal letters—as already said —of those whose lives and deaths are the best proofs that they wrote and spoke the truth.

To return to the Huron mission, a brief outline of which may be given here for the sake of clearness. These tribes, a "stable population, far in advance of the famished wanderers of the Saguenay, or their less abject kindred of New England,"[2] inhabited "the

[1] *La Verité*, May 9th.

[2] *Jesuits in N. A.* Introduction, p. xxiv.

peninsula formed by the Nottawassaga and the Matchedash Bays of Lake Huron, the river Severn and Lake Simcoe. Its area was small—its population comparatively large. In the year 1639 the Jesuits made an enumeration of its villages, dwellings and families. The result showed thirty-two villages and hamlets, with seven hundred dwellings, about four thousand families and twelve thousand adult persons, or a total population of at least twenty thousand."[1] "The region"—to quote again from Parkman[2]—"was an alternation of meadows and deep forests, interlaced with footpaths leading from town to town. Of these towns, some were fortified, but the greater number were open and defenceless. They were of a construction common to all tribes of Iroquois lineage, and peculiar to them." . . . .

The "Huron mission" included the Tinnontaks, or Tobacco Nation, the Neutral Nation,[3] so called because they had been able to maintain a state of strict neutrality between the Iroquois and the Hurons; further south, the Eries, or Cat Nation, akin to the Hurons in customs and language, long the terror of the Iroquois; further south again, on the Susquehanna, were the fierce and resolute tribe of the Andasks.[4] "Our intention," writes Bressani, "was to advance always towards the discovery of new peoples, and we hoped that a colony among the Hurons would be as a key to the position."[5]

The priests in charge of this mission were Jean de Brebœuf, "that masculine apostle of the faith, the Ajax of the mission," as Parkman calls him;[6] Charles Garnier, Joseph Marie Chaumonot, Noël Chabanel and Isaac Jogues. Pierre Chastelain, Paul Ragueneau, Simon Le Moine and others joined them later. It was no light task that they had undertaken. The very journey to be gone was full of dangers, for, in 1634, the war between the Hurons and the Iroquois was at its height,[7] and beset by hardships and difficulties.

Bancroft, the American historian, thus describes it:[8] "The voyage, by way of the Ottawa and its affluents, was one of more than three hundred leagues, through a fearful country, covered by forests. All day long the missionaries had to cross fords, or to work at the paddles. At night, no other nourishment than a meagre ration of Indian corn, mixed with water; for bed, the ground and the rocks. The canoe must be carried on the shoulders for several

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xxv. Lalemant, *Relation des Hurons*, 1640.
[2] *Ibid.*, xxv., xxvi.
[3] "Attiwandaronk," *Les Jesuites*, p. 320. Note 3.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[6] *Jesuits in North America*, p. 99.
[7] *Les Jesuites*, p. 324.
[8] *Hist. of U. S.*, vol. iv., ch. xx. *Ibid.*, p. 325 (*Les Jesuites*).

leagues, at thirty-five cataracts. . . . . And thus, swimming, fording, dragging or carrying the canoe, their clothes torn, their feet bruised, the breviary hung round their necks, the missionaries traced their way, in spite of rivers, lakes and forests, from Quebec to the very heart of the Huron country."

Truly, to enter on such a mission, a man "must make the sacrifice of his life."[1]

"Les miracles *dans ce pays*," writes Father Jean de Brebœuf,[2] "sont ceux-cy: faire du bien aux sauvages, souffrir bien des maux, et ne s'en plaindre qu'à Dieu."

These few words tell the whole story.

"This mission," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[3] "was well suited to this heart eaten up with holy ambitions, eager to do greatly and to suffer all things for the salvation of the peoples redeemed at the price of the Blood of Jesus Christ. And yet, the faith could not spread itself on the soil of New France, as he himself was to write one day, but *by labors, by watchings, by tribulations and patience, the laborer will only reap after having long weeded and sown in tears and groanings.*"

This was their true motive; this their chief object: the salvation of souls. All else is as nothing in comparison. That the plan, offering, as it did, material advantages, should have been favored by Champlain,[4] for military and commercial, as well as political reasons, was to them merely an incidental circumstance. Had nothing of the kind transpired, they would have undertaken the mission just as zealously, Brebœuf having, in fact, spent some considerable time among the Hurons, in 1625, before the temporary cession of New France to England. That they should have been able to serve their country while serving God, doubtless gave them fresh courage and greater happiness, as it removed all possibility of opposition on the part of the civil authorities, who were always willing that the Jesuits should share the dangers and hardships of the colony, if they grudged them a share in its honors or its government.

"What was the life of the missionaries in these Huron dwellings from 1634 to 1639? Historians have spoken of it more or less; all have noted the characteristic of terrible austerity that particularly marked it. . . . . In reading the *Relations* and the private correspondence . . . . we understand how much of truth there is in these few lines of Father J. Lalemant: 'On aimerait mieux recevoir un coup de hache sur la tête que de mener, les années durant, la vie qu'il faut mener ici tous les jours, travaillant à la conversion

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 326.
[2] *Relation of* 1635, pp. 46, 48, 49. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[3] P. 331.
[4] P. 335.

des barbares."[1] This life," adds Father de Rochemonteix, "was a veritable martyrdom from day to day."

It would be too long to enter into the detailed history of this mission, from 1635 on to the "opening of the era of martyrs in 1646."[2] Father de Rochemonteix's account, like that of Parkman, is full of the deepest interest. It would be hard to say which is the more so, except, as already said, on several occasions, that the former is more "sympathetic."

Before taking up the narrative of the events which occurred in the Huron mission during the years 1648 and 1649, as well as of those which led up to them, it may be as well to give the results of the mission so far, and to indicate the chief difficulties by which such results are to be measured.

"These men of God," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[3] "turned and returned the soil confided to their care; they watered it with the sweat of their brow, and for years, without result, without hope of harvest." The first adult convert was baptized in 1637, three years after Father de Brebœuf's arrival on the mission. Two years later, fifty Indians were baptized at the village called by the Jesuits Conception; twenty-five at St. Joseph, six or seven at St. Michael.[4] These figures refer to adult baptisms; there had been a very large number of infants, and not a few grown persons, baptized at the moment of death.

It was not merely that it was difficult to convince the Hurons of the truth of Christianity; even when apparently convinced, they could, with great difficulty, be brought to accept baptism. Father Chaumonot points out the chief difficulty in a letter to Father Philip Napi, superior of the professed house in Rome: "Leur obstination dans l'infidelité," he says,[5] "est produite par la difficultè qu ils croient trouver dans l'observation des commandments, et surtout du sixième."[6]

"The fact is," says Father de Rochemonteix, "that of all the nations of the New World, the Huron tribe is one of the most corrupt; *it was also one of the most perverse on earth.*"[7]

"Estre capitaine ches les Hurons," says the same "Relation," "et estre chrétien, c'est joindre le feu â l'eau." . . . . Other difficulties might have been overcome. The "honor of dishonor"[8] was ingrained in their very nature, and by its very nature, strengthened all the other objections usually advanced by savage tribes against a new religion.

---

[1] *Relations of* 1639, p. 57 (*Les Jesuites*, p. 339). It has been thought best in this, as in all other cases, to give the exact words of the writer, without translating them.

[2] P. 446. [3] Vol. i., p. 436. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] P. 441. [6] The seventh, according to the Protestant version.

[7] P. 441. *Relation of* 1639, p. 71. [8] *Relation of* 1642, p. 85.

The hostility of the Iroquois, constantly at feud with the Hurons and the Algonquins, a feud in which the French became inevitably involved, was, however, the one obstacle to the success of the missions, which no human effort could hope to overcome. Being at the same time a menace to the very existence of the youthful colony, war seemed to be the only possible alternative. This tribe was not, as a matter of fact, very numerous at this period (1640); they counted, indeed, only from two thousand to two thousand five hundred warriors.[1] But though not as powerful, as to numbers, as their enemies, the Algonquins, the Hurons and the French, they were braver than the tribes named, and more united than the coalition formed against them. They had, moreover, a barrier of defence to the south, in the Dutch colony of Manhattan.[2]

Champlain, as might have been expected, realized the danger that threatened the colony and prepared to face it. He asked for but one hundred and twenty soldiers from France, but failed to obtain them, the Cardinal being busy with the war against the house of Austria.[3] By the year 1641 matters had grown more serious, the fact that the French had so far acted merely on the defensive had emboldened the Iroquois to continue their attacks. These attacks were directed with peculiar bitterness against those Indians who had become Christians, and whom the Iroquois regarded, justly enough, as identified with the French. Father Vimont, writing in this year to the Provincial at Paris, says: "Si on n'a ce peuple (les Iroquois) pour amy, ou si on ne l'extermine, il faut abandonner à leurs cruautés tant de bons néophytes, il faut perdre tant de belles espérances."[4]

It meant more than this, it meant martyrdom, and they knew it. The roll of immortal honor begins with that of Isaac Jogues, who, when his French and Huron fellow-voyagers, the latter mostly Christians, were surprised and taken prisoners by the Iroquois on Lake St. Peter, on August 2, 1642,[5] "listening only to his apostolic heart," says Father de Rochemonteix,[6] gave himself up as a prisoner, of his own accord, knowing perfectly well what such a captivity must entail. His martyrdom lasted for twelve months,[7] and must be read, either in the account given by Parkman or in that of Father de Rochemonteix, in order that it may be realized in some faint measure. He was a prisoner in the hands of the Iroquois, and every insult, every indignity, every devilish torture they could invent, short of actually killing him, he underwent, from day to day, with a courage that won the admiration of his tormentors, even while it increased their fury. "In his days of comparative liberty," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[8] "he could easily have

[1] Vol. ii., p. 77. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] P. 21. [6] P. 22. [7] P. 26. [8] P. 29.

escaped. He did not do so, although condemned to a life more painful than a thousand deaths." . . . . Further on, he says: "God blessed so great a zeal. 'Not counting the French and Huron prisoners whom I have helped, consoled and confessed, I have regenerated,' he says, 'in the sacred waters, seventy persons, children, young people and old people of five nations and different languages.'"

French to the heart, a patriot in the truest sense, he contrived, watched as he was, and at the risk of being burned alive[1] if discovered, to send to Montmagny, the Governor of Canada, valuable information as to the numbers and designs of the Iroquois. His place of captivity being near Fort Orange on the Hudson, he owed his final escape to the good offices of the Dutch who, having learned of a design on the part of his captors to burn him alive, in revenge for the ill-success of an attack on Fort Richelieu, finally persuaded him[2] to avail himself of the proffered means of escape. He embarked at New Amsterdam a month later, and landed on the coast of Brittany on Christmas day, 1643.[3]

Father Bressani, dispatched at the end of April, 1644, by his superior, Father Vimont, to carry letters and packages to the Huron missionaries, who had received nothing for three years,[4] was the next to fall into the hands of the Iroquois, in an ambuscade near Fort Richelieu, and to undergo, for four months, a martyrdom very similar to that of Father Jogues. He also was finally set free by the Dutch, and landed at La Rochelle in November, 1644. Both he and Father Jogues returned, *of deliberate choice*, to the scene of their labors and sufferings, after a brief stay in Europe, Father Jogues in 1644, Father Bressani in 1645, both having obtained from the Pope permission to say Mass in spite of the mutilations they had been subjected to.[5]

In July, 1645, a peace was concluded with a part of the Iroquois confederacy, from which the most favorable consequences were expected. It was solemnly confirmed on the 20th of September, the only doubts remaining being, first, as to the sincerity of the Mohawks,[6] and secondly, as to how far they spoke for the whole confederacy, known as the Five Nations, or only for themselves. It was decided to send an embassy to the Iroquois, and for this task Father de Jogues was chosen.[7] He had a feeling that he would never return. "He wrote," says Father de Rochemonteix,[8] "to a Jesuit, in France the confidant of the secrets of his soul: 'Mon cœur me dit que si j'ai le bien d'être employé dans cette

---

[1] *Ibid.* [2] August, 1643, p. 32. [3] P. 32 [4] P. 36.

[5] P. 43. Urban VIII. said to Father Jogues: "Indignum esset Christi martyrem Christi non libere sanguinem."

[6] Called "Agniers" by the French. P. 47. [7] P. 49. [8] P. 53.

mission, *ibo et non redibo*, j'ira et je ne reviendrai pas; mais je serais heureux si Notre-Seigneur voulait achever le sacrifice là où Il l'a commencé.' . . . . These heavy presentiments," continues Father de Rochemonteix, "were not to be long in being realized." His mission, at first apparently successful, was turned to failure by a sudden change of temper on the part of the treacherous Mohawks. After being cruelly tortured, he was put to death on the 18th of October, 1646, at the village of Ossernenon."[1]

This murder was the signal for the renewal of hostilities, marked by all the cruelties and massacres of Indian warfare. Even the check sustained by the Iroquois at Three Rivers did not restore courage to the more peaceable tribes living to the north of the St. Lawrence. They no longer dared to come down to Quebec to sell their furs and to be instructed.[2] But the hearts of the missionaries did not fail them. "Je ne vois icy personne baisser la tête," writes the Superior of Quebec, under date of October 20, 1647, "on demande de monter aux Hurons, et quelques uns protestant que les feux des Iroquois sont l'un de leurs motifs pour entreprendre un voyage si dangereux."[3] They were called Joseph Bressani, Adrian Duran, Gabriel Lalemant, James Bonin and Adrian Grelon, all priests, Nicholas Noerclair, lay brother. They were accompanied by some twenty-five or thirty Frenchmen, and were destined to be present at the last hour of a dying tribe, "at the dispersion of the sad remnants of the Huron nation!"[4]

The history of that dispersion has been written again and again. What chiefly concerns us here is the fate of the Jesuits in charge of the Huron missions. It can be briefly told: On the 4th of July, 1648, the village of St. Joseph was attacked, just after Mass, while Father Daniel and his Christian Hurons were still at prayers. Unwilling to fly himself, and wishing to give his Christians time to escape, he went out alone to meet the enemy, to certain and cruel death, "and," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[5] "this victim of charity died, the name of Jesus on his lips; his death saved from massacre several hundred Hurons." Further on, he adds: "Father Daniel was the first Jesuit who received the crown of martyrdom in the Huron country."

The first, but not the last. Father Jean Brébœuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant were taken prisoners in March, 1649,[6] at the village of St. Louis, and taken with their Huron fellow-captives, mostly Christians, to St. Ignace. "On the afternoon of the sixteenth," says Parkman,[7] "Brébœuf was led apart and tied to a stake. He

[1] P. 57. [2] P. 62. [3] P. 63.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] P. 73. [6] P. 175, the 16th.
[7] *Jesuits in N. A.*, pp. 388, 389. Father de Rochemonteix's account is practically identical with Parkman's.

seemed more concerned for his captive converts than for himself, and addressed them in a loud voice, exhorting them to suffer patiently, and promising heaven as a reward. The Iroquois, incensed, scorched him from head to foot. . . . . As he continued to speak . . . . they cut away his lower lip, and thrust a red-hot iron down his throat," "and put burning coals in his mouth," adds the account given by Father Rochemonteix.[1] The same writer continues: "At the instigation of a renegade Huron, *and in hatred of baptism*, they pour boiling water three times over his head and shoulders. . . . . 'We baptize you,' they say, 'that you may be happy in heaven.'" Parkman says: "After a succession of other revolting tortures, they scalped him; when, seeing him nearly dead, they laid open his breast, and came in a crowd to drink the blood of so brave an enemy. . . . ."

"He desired nothing so much," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[2] "as to shed his blood for Jesus Christ," and adds, that among his memoirs no expression is so frequent as that of his desire so to die, "Sentio me vehementer impelli ad moriendum pro Christo."[3] Who could wish to criticize the motives or the actions of a man who died like this?

"His companion in martyrdom," the Jesuit historian continues,[4] "Father Gabriel Lalemant, had neither the same physical vigor nor the same moral force. . . . . The martyrdom of Father de Brébœuf lasted three hours, his, a part of a day and a night. . . . . It had begun, according to some, with that of Father de Brébœuf, according to others, at six in the evening; it lasted all night, till nine in the morning, and nothing was spared him of all that the most ingenious ferocity could invent."[5]

The fugitive Hurons who had escaped from St. Ignace and from St. Louis, took refuge, first at Ste. Marie, where they arrived "by hundreds, without chiefs, without organization, disunited, demoralized, paralyzed with fear, broken with sickness, dying of misery and hunger."[6] Some, however, took refuge on the Island of St. Joseph, as offering, apparently, a more secure refuge from the fury and the pursuit of the Iroquois. The inhabitants of the villages of St. Michael and of St. John the Baptist appealed to the clemency of the victors, and were enrolled among one of the tribes of the confederacy, thus becoming "the first nucleus of Christianity among the Iroquois."[7]

Ste. Marie having become exposed to attack by the destruction of the other Huron villages, the missionaries decided to abandon it, and to accept the invitation of the Huron refugees on St.

---

[1] P. 79. [2] P. 80. [3] P. 81. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83. [6] P. 91. [7] P. 92.

Joseph's Island.[1] On the 14th of June, 1649, they left Ste. Marie for St. Joseph, where they built a fort, and gathered about them large numbers of refugee Hurons,[2] hoping that here, at least, they would be safe. The destruction, however, of the two missions among the Tobacco nation,[3] and the martyrdom of two priests, Father Garnier and Father Chabanel, the news of which was received at St. Joseph[4] at the end of December, 1649, seemed to render even this position untenable. A famine broke out during the winter,[5] followed by an outbreak of disease. A party sent out as soon as the ice began to break up, in search of food, fell into the hands of the Iroquois, who had landed in large numbers on the island itself.[6] It only remained to abandon the new fort of Ste. Marie, and this course was decided upon by the council of the Hurons at the beginning of spring,[7] and, on the 10th of June, 1650, "the missionaries, their attendants, and three hundred Christian Hurons, embarked in silence,"[8] intending to take refuge at Quebec, where they arrived on the 28th of July.[9]

The remainder of their sad history may be briefly told. "The arrival of these savages," writes Father Rochemonteix,[10] "was a heavy burden on the French colony. Supported during the next few months by the charity of the Jesuits and of the Ursuline Nuns,[11] in ever-increasing numbers, they were settled in March, 1651, on the property of the Jesuits on the island of Orleans,[12] in a village called, once more, Ste. Marie. Driven even from here by fear of the Iroquois,[13] they divided into several parties, some of whom made peace with the enemy,[14] the few remaining families finally settling, first at Old Lorette, in 1668,[15] and then at New Lorette, at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[16]

"With the fall of the Hurons," says Parkman,[17] "fell the best hopes of the Canadian mission. They, and the stable and populous communities around them, had been the rude material from which the Jesuit would have formed his Christian empire in the wilderness. The cause of the failure of the Jesuits," he adds, "is obvious. The guns and tomahawks of the Iroquois were the ruin of their hopes." Moreover, the Hurons overcome, the Iroquois were left free to attack the French settlements, nor were they long in beginning their attacks.

---

[1] Now Charity, or Christian Island, near the entrance of Matchedash Bay. *Jesuits in N. A.*, p. 397 : *Les Jesuites*, vol. ii, pp. 94, 95.

[2] Three thousand Hurons were baptized during the year 1649, p. 96.

[3] *Jesuits in N. A.*, p. 403.

[4] Called also "the new Ste. Marie."

[5] *Les Jesuites*, vol. ii., p. 109.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 110. [7] P. 111. [8] P. 112. [9] P. 114.

[10] *Ibid.* [11] P. 116. [12] P. 119. [13] P. 123.

[14] *Ibid.* [15] P. 124. [16] P. 125. [17] *Jesuits in N. A.*, pp. 146, 147.

The war lasted, with all its horrors, with all its sufferings, from 1651 to 1660, when it was ended by the heroism of Daulac, or Dollard des Ormeaux, and his companions, at the famous fight of the Long Saut, near Montreal.[1] The Jesuits took their full share in all that such a war entailed. Father Poncet was captured by the Iroquois at Cap Rouge,[2] in August, 1653, to be ill-used and even tortured during a period of nine weeks,[3] being set free, by special treaty, on October 21st of the same year. The Onondaga Iroquois made a treaty of peace in June of the same year;[4] the Oneidas soon followed, and the capture by the Hurons of a famous Mohawk chief,[5] brought even that proud tribe to sue for the friendship of the French. The consequences of this treaty were to be of serious import to the French missionaries.

"It was," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[6] "in the month of November, 1653, that the Mohawks and Onondagas signed the treaty of peace with the French. Father Simon Le Moyne was to be sent to the Onondagas to arrange for the delivery of the prisoners. He started from Quebec on July 2, 1654,[7] came back to Quebec, bearing proposals from the Onondagas for the foundation of a French settlement in their midst, on about the 11th of September,[8] and immediately set out on his journey to the Mohawks to confirm the treaty of peace.

"The Onondagas," says Parkman,[9] "had a deeper plan. Their towns were already full of Huron captives, former converts of the Jesuits. . . . . Hence their tyrants conceived the idea that by planting at Onondaga a colony of Frenchmen under the direction of these beloved Fathers the Hurons of Orleans might readily be led to join them."

This was the beginning of the Iroquois mission, "a project," as Parkman terms it,[10] "bold to temerity," which the Jesuits "had long nursed. Their great Huron mission," he continues, "was ruined, but might not another be built up among the authors of this ruin, and the Iroquois themselves, tamed by the power of the Faith, be annexed to the kingdoms of Heaven and of France? Thus would peace be restored to Canada, a barrier of fire opposed to the Dutch and English heretics.[11] . . . The errand," he is careful to add, "was mainly a political one."

---

[1] *Old Régime in Canada*, pp. 72 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[3] P. 8.
[4] P. 4.
[5] P. 5.
[6] Vol. ii, p. 140. His account has been chiefly followed, for the sake of brevity and clearness. That of Parkman is, in some respects, more diffuse.
[7] P. 141.
[8] P. 143, note.
[9] *Old Régime in Canada*, pp. 9, 10.
[10] P. 10.
[11] The tone of Fr. de Rochemonteix's book is strongly anti-English, but it is so, obviously, for two reasons: 1st, because the growth of the English power in the New World meant the spread of "heresy" and the extinction, *pari passu*, of the True

Father Chaumonot, who had been in charge of the refugee Hurons at the Island of Orleans, and who was well known to the Huron captives among the Onondagas, was chosen for this new and perilous mission, and Father d'Ablon was to accompany him.[1] "The labors of the missionaries" writes Father de Rochemonteix,[2] "were crowned with such success that they thought the moment had come to establish a French post in the country according to the desire of the Onondagas, as expressed to Father Le Moyne." Whatever may have been the ulterior designs of the Indians, the missionaries, to judge from the account thus given, would appear to have acted in good faith; that they should have desired to extend the influence and the boundaries of New France at the same time is hardly a sufficient reason for calling their errand "mainly a political one," inasmuch as, in their view, the extension of French domination meant, primarily, the extension of the influence of Christianity.

In the spring of 1656, Father d'Ablon, accompanied by a few Onondagas and other Indians, arrived at Quebec,[3] to enlist help and sympathy. Four Jesuit Fathers, three Brothers and fifty-five Frenchmen, under the orders of Dupuy, the commandant of the fort at Quebec, returned with him in May, and with the consent of the Onondagas, the new fort of Ste. Marie was duly founded on the shore of Lake Gennentaha.[4]

By the month of October, 1657,[5] some progress had been made, for Father Mesnard alone had baptised some four hundred persons at two missions, and the other missionaries in proportion. "These beginnings," writes Father de Rochemonteix, "presaged fair hopes, but a vague distrust rested in the hearts of the missionaries."[6] Nor was this misgiving without cause. They knew the nature of the Indian too well to trust too much to appearances, and events justified their fears. The Mohawks—in violations of their treaties, and of a nominal peace, concluded with Father Le Moyne—fearing the loss of their fur-trade with the English if a French post was established in the heart of the Iroquois country, stirred up the younger members of the Onondaga tribe to drive out the Jesuits and the French, who, in 1658, were forced to retreat to Quebec. "Thus ended the first Iroquois mission."[7]

With the year 1658 ends what Lord Elgin justly called "the heroic age of Canada." In the spheres both of church and of

---

Faith; 2d, to prove to modern Frenchman that the Society was (and is) loyal and *French*—so far as French Jesuits are concerned.

[1] Les Jesuites, vol. 2., p. 143. [2] P. 146. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] P. 147. A small lake to the south of Lake Ontario.
[5] Pp. 148, 149. [6] *Ibid.* [7] P. 155.

state changes were imminent, and it is this latter period, from the date named to the end of the century and beyond, that we have felt justified in designating as "controversial." It is here, especially, that we shall follow Father de Rochemonteix chiefly, because he both indicates the charges made against the Society and supplies the answer.

The subjects with which we must principally concern ourselves in the closing portion of this review may be taken as being: first, the relations of the Jesuits with the Bishop; secondly, their relations with the civil powers, with Frontenac and with Talon especially; and, thirdly, the question as to who really merits the honor of being called the discoverer of the Great West.

Up to the year 1658 all the churches in Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Tadoussac, Sillery and Miscou were governed by the "Fathers of the Company of Jesuits,"[1] who held very special spiritual powers granted to them by Pope Urban VIII.[2] The general assembly of the clergy of France had proposed the foundation of a bishopric as early as 1646,[3] but the wars with the Indians postponed the carrying out of the design; but in 1650 the Company of One Hundred Associates set to work in earnest to obtain the erection of a bishopric, and proposed for the office Father Charles Lalemant, a Jesuit. Three names were, in fact, submitted, and each name that of a Jesuit,[4] Lalemant, Ragueneau and Le Jeune. Parkman, as might have been expected,[5] attributes this to Jesuit intrigues. The fact remains that "Goswin Nickel, then the Vicar-General of the Society, refused all three, for this reason, that the rule of the Order forbade the religious to accept ecclesiastical dignities."[6]

The claim of the Archbishop of Rouen to jurisdiction over New France was made in 1647,[7] founded, presumably, on the fact that a large number of the colonists had formerly lived in that diocese,[8] and that the secular priests who came to share the labors of the Jesuits from 1634 to 1648 had probably obtained "faculties" from the same archbishop. There was, however, "no brief or positive act from Rome, authorizing the Primate of Normandy to extend his jurisdiction to the American Continent."[9]

We enter no further into a difficult ecclesiastical question in which, at all events, the Jesuits showed the real spirit by which they were actuated by accepting the jurisdiction of the archbishop and, in the person of Father Lalemant,[10] of the dignity of vicar-general. Then came the appointment, at their recom-

[1] P. 160. [2] P. 190. [3] P. 192. [4] P. 197.
[5] *Old Régime* in Canada, p. 85. [6] *Les Jesuites*, vol. ii., p. 201.
[7] P. 202. [8] P. 203. [9] P. 204.
[10] P. 209. Which was not confirmed by the Pope.

mendation, of the Abbé Francois de Laval, as Vicar-Apostolic of New France and Bishop of Petræa.[1] It may be added, however, that if there were faults, as Parkman is somewhat eager to point out, there were faults on both sides; that the Archbishop of Rouen seems, according to strict ecclesiastical law, to have unduly intruded his claims to jurisdiction over New France; that his appointment of Abbé de Queylus and of Father Lalemant as vicars-general was, consequently, invalid, that the former insisted on his powers, and that the other did not, and that the Jesuits, having declined the bishopric pressed upon them by Anne of Austria, at the urgent request of the Company of One Hundred Associates, were fairly entitled to a voice in the nomination of a bishop.

It may be well, before dealing somewhat in detail with the relations between the society and the civil governors, to consider some of the principal charges made against them, and the replies furnished by their historian.

"The missionaries have been reproached," he says, "with having engaged in trade."[2] To this he has supplied an answer[3]—which can now be referred to—in the form of an attestation drawn up and signed by the Company of One Hundred Associates, by those, that is, who, being chiefly interested in the fur-trade, would be sure to resent the very appearance of interference. It reads as follows: "Ayans sceu que quelques personnes se persuadent et font courir le bruit que la Compagnie des Pères Jésuites a part aux embarquements, retours et commerces qui se font audit pays, voulans par ce moyen ravaler et supprimer l'estime et le prix des grands travaux qu'ils entreprennent audit pais. . . . dont ladite Compagnie (de la Nouvelle France) est très particulièrement informée, ont cru estre obligés par devoir de la charité chrétienne de désabuser ceux qui auraient cette créance, par la déclaration et certification qu'ils font par les présentes, que les dits P. P. Jésuites ne sont associez en ladite Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, directement, et n'ont aucune part au trafic des marchandises qui s'y faict." As there was no possible reason why the trading company should have hidden the fact if the Jesuits shared in their trade, and as they would have been sure to complain if they had interfered with it, the Jesuits must, surely, be held as acquitted of this charge.

They were accused, as we have seen already, of refusing "to make Frenchmen" of the Indians, for fear of losing the exclusive influence they had gained over them. Their historian contents

[1] P. 211. Those interested in such subjects may be referred to the accounts given by Parkman (*Old Régime*, Ch. IV.) and by Father de Rochemonteix (vol. ii., pp. 189 et seqq).

[2] Vol. ii., p. 176.

[3] Vol. i., pp. 352, 353.

himself with repeating that such a task was simply an impossibility, and points out that Bishop Laval and the Abbé de Queylus were equally unsuccessful.[1] It need only be added here that all experience tends to prove that the Jesuits were right and Colbert mistaken; in other words, that local officials are, as a rule, wiser than doctrinaire home authorities.

Again, they were reproached with sacrificing the interests of the colony to the evangelizing of the Indians.[2] "Their contemporaries," writes Father de Rochemonteix, "Champlain, Boucher, Marie de l'Incarnation, Mgr. de Laval and others, have done justice to the Jesuits on this point, and the works of these last have an eloquence which speaks sufficiently in their favor." This particular charge, as being one of many, only serves to show that the Jesuits had to undergo not only the hardships, dangers and martyrdoms of the Indian missions, but the keener suffering of unmerited reproaches on the part of those who should have been eager to help them in every way.

"From the governor to the meanest laborer," writes Parkman,[3] "the Jesuit watched and guided all. The social atmosphere of New England itself was not more suffocating. By day and by night, at home, at church, or at his daily work, the colonist lived under the eyes of busy and over-zealous priests." "They were reproached," writes Father de Rochemonteix, "with oppressing consciences,"[4] they alone having the direction of souls. And yet, in 1658, "the Abbé de Queylus was in charge of the parish of Quebec, assisted by two secular priests. Very few penitents had recourse to them; there were, as a rule, only three or four, whereas they went in crowds to the confessional of the Jesuits."[5] Father Ragueneau was surely justified in claiming this as "preuve évidente que ceux-ci étaient faussement accusés de faire péser sur les consciences un joug intolérable."[6]

Parkman also speaks of the "union of the temporal and spiritual authority in the same hands."[7] "Les Jesuites," writes Colbert, in his 'Instructions' to the Intendant, Talon,[8] "dont la piété et le zéle ont beaucoup contribué à attirer dans ce pays les peuples qui y sont à présent, y ont pris une autorité qui passe au delà des bornes de leur véritable possession, qui ne doit regarder que les consciences." "Their authority, in fact, was great," writes their historian; "they had not taken it, it had come to them."[9]

---

[1] Vol. ii., pp. 177, 178.
[2] P. 178.
[3] *Jesuits in N. A.*, p. 158.
[4] Vol. ii., p. 179.
[5] P. 180. Letter of Marie de l'Incarnation to her son.
[6] *Ibid.* Letter to the General of the Jesuits, August 20, 1658l
[7] *Loc. cit. ut sup.*
[8] *Les Jesuites*, vol. ii., p. 182 (and note).
[9] *Ibid.*

They were, without exception, the ablest men in the colony, the laws of which were, from the very nature of the case, principally concerned with what may fairly be defined as "moral regulations," dealing with drunkenness, vice and such-like matters, in which their advice and experience would be of the greatest possible value; the Superior at Quebec had, moreover, been nominated an ex-officio member of the Supreme Council by Royal Edict. Circumstances compelled them to take an active share in the whole life of the colony; they were chosen, above all, as ambassadors to the Indians; living among their French parishioners they knew, better than the civil authorities could possibly know, what they wished, and what was good for them. They would have been traitors to their duty as priests, as Frenchmen and as citizens had they confined themselves strictly to the care of consciences. They had no choice but to accept the task—arduous and unthankful at the best—which was thrust upon them.

Lastly: "They were also reproached," writes their historian,[1] "with opposing not only the traffic in brandy, but also turning away the colonists from the fur trade." He admits the truth of both statements, but asks whether their conduct were not dictated by wise and pertinent reasons? Those who realize all that the fur trade implies, its inevitable association with liquor and with immorality, the weakening of the colony—as already said—by the withdrawal from all useful communal occupations of a large number of active men, can best decide whether this line of action on the part of the Jesuits is to be commended or not.

In the year 1663 the Company of One Hundred Associates was dissolved, "and all its rights in Canada transferred to the crown."[2] "By an ordinance of the same year," the narrative continues, "a Supreme Council was established at Quebec, composed of the Governor, the Bishop, the Intendant, several councillors[3] and of an attorney-general." The Chevalier de Mésy, whom Parkman calls "the Governor whom Laval had chosen," was appointed "Governor and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland and other countries of Northern France. He owed his nomination to Mgr. de Laval . . . . the Jesuits did not know him.[4] . . . . A great union existed between him, the Bishop and the other members of the Council," who, according to the royal edict of creation,[5] were to be nominated, "conjointement et de concert," by the Governor and the Bishop.

"All went well at the beginning," we are told,[6] then arose questions of the division of authority between the Governor and the

---

[1] P. 180. [2] P. 331.
[3] Parkman says five. *Old Régime*, p. 135.
[4] *Les Jesuites*, vol. ii., pp. 332, 333. [5] P. 334. [6] P. 335.

Bishop, of the amount of salary, and, finally, the Governor undertook to interfere with the collection of the tithes, which the king had authorized the Bishop to collect. "All these arbitrary acts of the Governor," says Father de Rochemonteix,[1] "his hostile attitude towards the clergy and the missionaries, did not discourage the patient firmness and merciful kindness of the bishop . . . ." One day, after a dispute with the bishop, the governor wrote to the Jesuits for their advice as to what he should do. Father Lalemant, although he suspected that the governor wished to entrap him, replied simply that "the difference between the two authorities was a matter to be referred to the tribunal of conscience and to the civil tribunal; for the first, one must consult the confessor; as to the second, a religious has no right to judge which side is in the wrong."[2]

Such an answer did not, of course, satisfy de Mésy, who, after that, "made no more nor less than war against the Jesuits,"[3] whose attachment to Mgr. de Laval he could not forgive. He complained to Colbert, but the facts were considered as being against him;[4] he was recalled, and de Courcelles was sent to replace him, but he died before the arrival of his successor. Talon was sent out, at the same time, as Intendant, his instructions being: "Il est absolument nécessaire de tenir dans une juste balance l'autorité temporelle qui réside en la personne du roi et en ceux qui le répresentent, et la spirituelle qui réside en la personne du s[r] Evesque et des Jesuittes, de manièrè touttes fois que celle-cy soit inférieure à l'autre."

The spiritual power was, therefore, to be subordinate, "toutes fois"—on all occasions—to the temporal. This fundamental principle of Gallicanism, Josephism, or Erastianism, was to govern the policy of New France henceforth; was to be "the rule of conduct for Governors and Intendants."[5] Right or wrong—that is not the question here. Faults there were, doubtless, on both sides; but the Jesuit historian may well term such instructions "the fertile source of many conflicts."

This policy is, in fact, the key to all the disputes between the clergy and the civil authorities, disputes which Parkman and de Rochemonteix describe at length, but which will not be entered into at this stage of an article, which must, of necessity, draw towards a close. It remains to deal, briefly, with the missions to the Iroquois, which had been confided by Mgr. de Laval to the Jesuits,[6] and with the resultant discovery of the "Great West."

---

[1] P. 337 (and note). Father Lalemant writes: "Effugere non possumus quin suspicetur Gubernator nos in partes Illust. episcopi inclinare."

[2] P. 338. [3] *Ibid.* [4] P. 339.

[5] P. 341. [6] P. 343.

"The Jesuits alone," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[1] "understood and spoke the language of the natives, they knew their customs, their laws, their habits of life; they knew by what means to reach their souls, in despite of the obstacles encountered by the holy and austere doctrines of the Gospel. Finally, they had gained over them an incontestable influence by virtue of their devotion and patience." Further on he says,[2] that "they accepted, with joy and thankfulness, the fairest lot of the heritage of God in those vast regions of the New World."

"The new movement towards the distant missions," he continues,[3] "dates from 1660." In that year Father Menard was sent to the Ottawas, a journey of five hundred leagues from Quebec. The spirit of the "earlier Jesuits," as Parkman calls them, was alive in him; "he went," we are told,[4] "accompanied by his faithful servant, Jean Guerin, where the Spirit of the Lord impelled him, not knowing too well where, convinced only that he should not return from this distant expedition. Six weeks of painful journeying brought him to Lake Superior," where the "Ottawas treated him like a slave."[5] Finding them brutal, degraded, and absolutely unwilling to renounce polygamy, he reluctantly left them, after long and practically fruitless labors, intending to visit a remnant of Hurons who lived at the extreme southwest of Lake Superior. Their food failing them, he was deserted by his Indian guides, and was never seen again. Whether he died of hunger, or was killed, was never known.[6]

Father Claude Allouez took up the task which the death of Father Menard had interrupted, and following the traces of the latter's journey, arrived, at length, after incredible hardships, at the Huron villages on Lake Superior.[7] Replaced, after six months, by Fathers Druillettes and André,[8] he went, by order of his superior, Father d'Ablon, to join him and Father Marquette at Sainte-Marie-du-Saut.[9] It was from this point that d'Ablon and Allouez started, in 1670, on their mission to the Illinois tribes, living to the southwest of Lake Michigan.

The peace that resulted in 1666, from the total defeat of the Mohawks by the Marquis de Tracy,[10] lasted for eighteen years, and was of immense advantage to the colony. "For a year or two after de Tracy had 'chastised the Mohawks,"[11] says Parkman, "and humbled the other Iroquois nations, all was rose color on the side of that dreaded confederacy. The Jesuits, defiant, as usual, of hardship and death, had begun their ruined missions

---

[1] *Ibid.* [2] P. 344. [3] P. 345. [4] P. 347.
[5] P. 348. [6] P. 350. [7] P. 357. [8] P. 361.
[9] Between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. P. 361.
[10] P. 387. [11] *Old Régime*, p. 16.

anew. Bruyas took the Mission of the Martyrs among the Mohawks; Milet, that of Saint Francis Xavier, among the Oneidas; Lamberville, that of Saint John the Baptist, among the Onondagas; Carheil, that of St. Joseph, among the Cayugas; and Raffeix and Julian Garnier shared between them the three missions of the Senecas."

We must, unfortunately, confine ourselves to such a brief sketch as the foregoing, of the new Iroquois missions, merely remarking that the traffic in brandy, which the Jesuits had always strenuously opposed, appears to have been a source of serious personal danger, as causing fearful drunkenness among the Indians, and "a drunken Indian with weapons within reach was a very dangerous person."[1]

This article must finish with a short account of the discovery of the Great West—a limit, necessarily somewhat arbitrary, but one which appears to be the best under the circumstances.

"The eighteen years of peace with the Iroquois," says Fatner de Rochemonteix,[2] "were, for the colony, an epoch of religious expansion and of discoveries. . . . . The most considerable event of this epoch, however," he continues, "is, undoubtedly, the discovery of the Mississippi." Further on, he writes,[3] "No one, however, had seen the river before 1673, and the Jesuits are the first to express the idea of exploring it."

Father d'Ablon, as we have seen, went, in 1670, on a mission to the Illinois tribes to the southwest of Lake Michigan, accompanied by Father James Marquette. "The discovery of the great river, and the exploration of its shores, were reserved to . . . . Father Marquette, and to a young Frenchman, Louis Jolliet."[4]

The story is familiar; a brief outline of it may, however, be given here. They started from Michillimackinac, on the 7th of May, 1673,[5] and entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, thirty-four days later,[6] following its course beyond its junction with the Missouri and the Ohio,[7] returning after an absence of four months. As is well known, the hardships of the expedition proved fatal to Father Marquette's health. A second journey was undertaken, in October, 1674, to found a mission among the Kaskaskias on the river of the Illinois.[8] The task proved too much for him in his enfeebled condition, and he died on the return journey, near the mouth of the little river that now bears his name. The tribute paid to him by the State of Wisconsin is but the honor that is his due.

"And yet this Jesuit, the object to-day of so much sympathy and honor, was, for a long time, condemned to a voluntary and unjust neglect."[9] Frontenac, "the declared enemy of the Society,

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 323. [2] Vol. iii., p. 1. [3] P. 3. [4] P. 4.
[5] P. 13. [6] P. 17. [7] P. 19. [8] P. 25. [9] P. 33.

is the soul of this conspiracy. . . . . Louis Hennepin, a Recollet, pretends to believe that the voyage of Jolliet never took place. He does not mention Father Marquette's name,"[1] and yet Parkman,' while branding Father Hennepin as "the most impudent of liars,' goes on to say that "his books have their value." How can any statement made by "an impudent liar," and a wilful calumniator, be of any serious historical value?

"It was reserved for another Frenchman to continue and complete the work undertaken by these first two explorers."[3] There is no doubt in the minds of those best fitted to decide that Father Marquette was the real discoverer of the Mississippi, in June 1673. This is the reason for the bare narration of the facts of the case, as given above, which may be supplemented by an equally brief account of the chief discoveries of Robert Cavelier de la Salle.

He entered the Jesuit noviciate on the 5th of October, 1658,[4] but "the disciple was not easy to manage or to fashion."[5] He made his three vows, taking the name of Ignatius, in honor of St. Ignatius Loyola, on the 10th of October, 1690, and entered the royal college of La Flèche, to pass two years in the study of physics and mathematics. It is said of him that "Brother Cavelier was not a model of work and application in this house of studies; nevertheless, he gave proof of much talent, and showed remarkable aptitude for the physical sciences."[6]

After teaching for a year at Alençon; spending another year at La Flèche to finish his course of philosophy; teaching again at Tours and at Blois, we finally find him at La Flèche, in 1666, beginning his course of theology.[7]

It is as well, in view of subsequent events, to dwell on this connection of La Salle with the Society of Jesus, a fact which Father de Rochemonteix, having access to all the most private archives, is able to establish beyond question. "As will be seen," he continues,[8] "he had much difficulty, once he had left the noviciate, in remaining long in one place." . . . . "One of his superiors," we are told, "admirably described this state of mind by the one Latin word '*inquietus*.'" And again, "The further he goes, the more heavy, the more insupportable does the yoke of the Rule become to him," so that we are not surprised to read the ultimate decision of the General, under date of March 1, 1667.[9] "Après un examen serieux des informations que vous nous avez envoyées, nous vous mandons de renvoyer de la Compagnie Robert Ignace Cavelier, Scholastique approuvé." La Salle left La Flèche and returned to the world on the 28th of March. "Henceforth," says the Jesuit

[1] Pp. 37, 38. [2] *La Salle*, p. 123.
[3] *Les Jesuites*, vol. iii., p. 40. [4] P. 42. [5] *Ibid.*
[6] P. 43. [7] *Ibid.* [8] P. 44. [9] P. 48.

historian, "he will have few, if any, dealings with the Jesuits;" and adds[1] that "this study . . . . will make us understand better the character and temperament of the famous discoverer; it will show us why, in the New World, he held aloof from the Jesuits, to join himself, first to the Sulpitians, and then to the Recollets; it will explain his whole life in Canada." . . . .

"Next we find him at Montreal;"[2] then at his estate of Lachine, granted to him by the Sulpitians,[3] where he "at once began to study the Indian languages,"[4] and where, "on one occasion, he was visited by a band of Seneca Indians, ... who told him of a river called the Ohio. rising in their country, and flowing into the sea, but at such a distance that its mouth could only be reached after a journey of eight or nine months. Evidently the Ohio and the Mississippi are here merged into one."[5] "At once" writes Father de Rochemonteix[6] "he formed the project of going to explore it."

He sold his seigneury and obtained letters-patent from the governor, authorizing him "to explore the woods, rivers and lakes of the whole of Canada."[7] The narrative continues: "Mr. Dollier de Casson (a Sulpitian) was then at Quebec, himself organizing an expedition to the Mississippi." Parkman terms it "a similar enterprise,"[8] and adds that "the seminary priests of Montreal were jealous of these powerful rivals, and eager to emulate their zeal in the saving of souls and the conquering of new domains for the faith." The Jesuit historian, as will be seen, simply states the fact and imputes no motive whatever.

The expedition, guided by Iroquois, left Villemarie (Montreal) on the 6th of July, 1669,[9] and reached the village of Tina-Toua (on Lake Erie) at the end of September. Here, according to Parkman,[10] they met Jolliet, afterwards the companion of Father Marquette, but Father de Rochemonteix does not allude to this fact. Both accounts agree as to La Salle's illness and as to a change of plans on the part of the priests who were with him. The latter, however, says[11] that "two days before they left, La Salle informed them that the state of his health would not allow him to think any more of the voyage which he had undertaken with them. He begged them to excuse him if he left them to return to Montreal." This sudden change of plan did not, apparently, surprise the two Sulpitians.

"We now return to La Salle," writes Parkman,[12] "only to find

---

[1] P. 49. This account may well be compared with that of Parkman—*La Salle*, pp. 2, 3, 4, La Salle was twenty-four when he left the Jesuits.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [3] Pp. 5, 6, 7. [4] P. 8. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] P. 52. [7] P. 53. [8] La Salle, p. 10. [9] *Les Jésuites*, vol. iii., p. 53.

[10] P. 16. [11] P. 54. [12] La Salle, p. 21.

ourselves involved in mist and obscurity, What did he do after he left the two priests? Unfortunately, a definite answer is not possible; and the next two years of his life remain in some measure an enigma. . . . . He is known to have kept journals and made maps; and these were in existence, and in possession of his niece, Madeleine Cavelier, as late as the year 1756; beyond which time the most diligent inquiry has failed to trace them."

"What became of Cavelier de La Salle," writes Father de Rochemonteix,[1] "after he had separated himself from the Sulpitians? . . . . He tells us himself, although in a vague manner and with little precision, in a memoir addressed to Count de Frontenac, in 1677, in which he enumerates his undertakings and his discoveries since his arrival in New France. According to this memoir, he reached the Ohio—the date is uncertain—went down it a sufficiently long distance, ... and finally stopped more than three hundred miles from the Mississippi, at the Louisville rapid in Kentucky. . . . . But from this expedition to Louisville till 1673 what was the existence of this ardent explorer? It would be difficult to say . . . . . The one point beyond a doubt is that he did not reach the Mississippi this period, otherwise he would not have omitted this glorious exploit in his memoir to the Governor of Canada. . . . . The name of the Mississippi does not occur a single time in a work giving the list of his discoveries from 1667 to 1677. . . . ."

The rest of his story is familiar history, and has been told at length by Parkman and by Father de Rochemonteix. As in all matters relating to New France during the century with which we have been dealing, it is well for those who wish to arrive at a just estimate of the persons and of the events of that dramatic epoch to correct the account of the American historian by comparing it with that of the French Jesuit. Much allowance, it will be found, must be made not only for the natural bias of Parkman himself, but also for the prejudices of those whom he quotes as authorities. These same authorities are referred to, in the fullest manner, by Father Rochemonteix, but he is careful to show what was their true character. Moreover, as remarked at the outset of this review, he is better fitted to deal with Jesuit documents than any outsider—even a Catholic—could possibly be. Taking into consideration, therefore, all the facts of the case; the many reasons for distrusting those who make indiscriminate charges against the Jesuits, Gallicans, Jansenists, civil authorities, partisans of La Salle, and others, who, whatever their good qualities, must be admitted to have been anything

[1] Pp. 55, 56, 57, 58, 56.

but impartial; Parkman's necessary want of sympathy with Jesuit ideals and motives; finally, having regard to the whole tone of "Les Jesuites;" the candor, the simple statement of fact, the mass of authorities quoted, it must be acknowledged that, of the accounts, that of the Jesuit historian may claim to be a truer estimate of the men who—let their faults be as great as they may—suffered, lived and died for the Faith that was in them.

F. W. Grey.

Montreal, Canada.

BALFOUR'S PHILOSOPHY.

Part IV.

(Suggestions Towards a Provisional Philosophy.)

We now enter upon our fourth and final criticism of Mr. Balfour's philosophy—namely, our examination of the fourth and concluding part of his work, which we think our readers will find the most interesting of them all.

In the three preceding parts[1] we, following our author, considered: (1) the consequences of "Naturalism" (*i.e.*, sensism), refuting that system by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, and so making its rejection a practical necessity; (2) we examined his statements as to the bases of some philosophical systems, especially "Naturalism," arguing with him that it is speculatively incoherent, but utterly disagreeing with him as to the rational and philosophic basis of theology; (3) thirdly, we criticised his views as to what are the direct and immediate causes of belief, with intent to show that he denied to reason its just claims, greatly exaggerating the action of emotion in determining our various convictions. His continued and vehement depreciation of the action of reason, and his no less continued appeal to instinct and emotion, actually cut the ground from beneath the religious structure he desires to erect. If all depends on mere likes and dislikes, on mere feelings of attraction and repulsion, why should those who feel sympathy with the material and sensuous allurements of naturalism turn aside from the

[1] See American Catholic Quarterly Review for 1896, January, April, and July.

representations of Huxley to follow those of Balfour? If reason is not predominant, if what seems to us "perceptions of probability" are not really such, but merely promptings of passion or desire, then on Mr. Balfour's own principles, what can be the use of the whole of his argument? What can its value be unless he admits himself to be but a modern Orpheus who, by the seductive charms of his musical periods and persuasive rhetoric, would delude us into following him through a mistaken belief that we are acting rationally, when in truth we are but the slaves of our senses? Were we to judge him by the third part of his work only, we should regard him as a bacchanal disguised in the cloak of a philosopher.

Authority he represents as overwhelmingly more of an irrational *cause* of belief than a solid reason for conviction. We altogether deny that authority, as he employs the term, has the efficacy he ascribes to it, but we none the less affirm that authority, in the true sense of the term, is an abundantly sufficient *reason* for a multitude of beliefs for which human testimony or revelation can afford us metaphysical or divine evidence. In spite of his profound dissent from the philosophy of Hume, Mr. Balfour's "Authority" is the same thing as Hume's "Custom," and, as we have noted, he makes use (p. 164) of that very term.[1]

After referring to the three foregoing sets of inquiries, he tells us[2] that:

"It remains for us to consider whether it is possible to extract from their combined results any general view which may command at least a provisional assent."

To this consideration he devotes the first chapter, entitled "*The Groundwork*," of this fourth part of "THE FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF."

It is, of course, plain that from such premisses alone as Mr. Balfour has accepted in his previous three parts, no complete or adequate philosophy can be arrived at. He himself avows that:

"The unification of all belief into an ordered whole, compacted into one coherent structure under the stress of reason, is an ideal which we can never abandon, but it is also one which, in the present condition of our knowledge, perhaps even of our faculties, we seem incapable of attaining."

He then declares[3] that:

"The first and most elementary principle which ought to guide us in forming any provisional scheme of unification is to decline to draw any distinction between different classes of belief when no relevant distinction can, as a matter of fact, be discovered."

Yet, as we saw in our review of the second part, the advocates

[1] AMER. CATH. Q. R., April, p. 313. [2] P. 233. [3] P. 234.

of naturalism have assumed (not only without any preliminary analysis, but apparently without suspecting such a thing was necessary) that the beliefs of physical science stand:

"Not only upon a different, but upon a much more solid platform than any others; that scientific standards supply the sole test of truth and scientific methods the sole instruments of discovery."

Is there in reality any such difference? That there are differences of some sort Mr. Balfour admits[1] to be undeniable, but do they require us to give precedence to science and to exclude other beliefs from our general scheme?

"One peculiarity there is," he tells[2] us, "which seems at first sight effectually to distinguish certain scientific beliefs from any which belong, say to ethics or theology; a peculiarity which may, perhaps, be best expressed by the word 'inevitableness.' Everybody has, and everybody is obliged to have, some convictions about the world in which he lives—convictions which in their narrow and particular form (as what I have before called beliefs of perception, memory and expectation) guide us all, children, savages and philosophers alike, in the ordinary conduct of day-to-day existence; which, when generalized and extended, supply us with some of the leading presuppositions on which the whole fabric of science appears logically to depend. No convictions quite answering to this description can, I think, be found either in ethics, æsthetics or theology . . . . certainly there is nothing in either of these great departments of thought quite corresponding to our habitual judgments about the things we see and handle; judgments which, with reason or without it, all mankind are practically compelled to entertain."

We altogether dispute the truth of this representation. The "inevitableness" of our perception of the extended external world is a certain and indisputable fact, and it is so because (as we have before urged) we have an intuition of extension, and its "inevitableness" is but another word for the intuitive character of this perception. Certain, however, as it is, it has not the highest degree of certainty, as a sort of fictitious doubt can be entertained about it, but for which all "idealism" would be absolutely impossible. We *may* (because many persons *do*) believe that the inevitable perception of the world about us is either an "inference" or a delusion, produced by the action of some entity, or entities, external to our mind, or else that it is produced by the action of our mind upon and within itself (solipsism), and this without producing absolute and complete scepticism. But first principles cannot possibly be thus doubted. If either the principle of contradiction, the perception of self-existence, or of the validity of logical ratiocination be called into question and really doubted, absolute scepticism and intellectual paralysis are the inevitable result.

It may be said that all persons perceive the world about them, but only a few educated minds apprehend the evident and meta-

[1] P. 235. [2] P. 236.

physical truths of first principles. We might grant that such was the case, without injury to our position. For external perceptions are impossible without the presence of the conditions necessary for *sense*-perception (adequate sense-organs), and similarly it would be no wonder if first principles were imperceptible to those who did not possess the conditions necessary for *intellectual*-perception. But, in fact, while a certain degree of education is necessary for an explicit, reflex recognition of such objective truths, they are implicitly perceived in the concrete in the actions of everyday life, as we need not again urge by citing instances.

But Mr. Balfour does not compare our intuitions as to an extended, external world, with any such first principles, but with the proposition, "There is a God," and he adds:[1] "I am myself disposed to doubt whether so good a case can be made out for accepting the second of these propositions as can be made out for accepting the proposition, 'there is an independent material world.'"

This disposition on Mr. Balfour's part is a really reasonable one, since we have no *intuition* of God's existence. That is a truth only to be reached through *ratiocination*, while, as Mr. Balfour very truly says,[2] our certainty about an external world is "far in excess of anything which mere reasoning can justify."

Thus sensists err widely and fundamentally when they think that there is any ground for elevating physical science to a plane of certitude, above every other kind of knowledge, or who (as we before pointed out)[3] deem the evidence gained through the senses to be "the best of all evidence."

Mr. Balfour very ingeniously attempts to show how our ready and spontaneous conviction about the reality of the external world may be no intellectual intuition at all, but the mere result of "natural selection" on active, sensitive organisms.[4] He says:

"Whether there be an independent material universe or not may be open to philosophic doubts. But that, if it exists, it is expedient that the belief in it should be accepted with a credence which for all practical purposes is immediate and unwavering, admits, I think, of no doubt whatever. If we could suppose a community to be called into being who, in their dealings with the 'external world,' should permit action to wait upon speculation, and require all its metaphysical difficulties to be solved before reposing full belief in some such material surroundings as those which we habitually postulate, its members would be overwhelmed by a ruin rapid and complete.

"Supposing this be so, it follows necessarily, on accepted biological principles, that a kind of credulity so essential to the welfare, not merely of the race as a whole, but of every single member of it, will be bred by elimination and selection into its inmost organization . . . . is it not plain that any individual in which such judgments were

---

[1] P. 237. [2] P. 238.
[3] See AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1896, p. 300.
[4] P. 238.

habitually qualified and enfeebled by even the most legitimate scepticism would incontinently perish, and that those only would survive who possessed and could presumably transmit to their descendants a stubborn assurance which was beyond the power of reasoning either to fortify or to undermine?"

This is very clearly put, but granting, for the moment, that our existing intuitions of an extended world were certainly thus developed, such a fact would be a triumphant argument against idealists, for unless an independent, extended world really existed, no sentient organisms would be destroyed by contravening the laws and conditions of an independent, extended world.

Can, however, the truth of this representation as to the origin of our spiritual intuitions be conceded for even a moment? It certainly cannot, for, as Mr. Balfour says:[1]

"No such process would come to the assistance of other faiths, however true, which were the growth of higher and later steps of civilized development."

Yet the reflex perception of the absolutely universal and necessary[2] truth of first principles is just such a higher growth, supreme in certainty, yet evidently no product of "natural selection." If then there is an efficient cause which can, independently of "natural selection," produce this supreme result, *à fortiori*, it could produce the indefinitely minor effect, namely "sense perception," and the apprehension of spatial relations.

There is therefore, no warrant for Mr. Balfour's degradation of our perception of the external world to the level of irrational influences, on the grounds here laid down by him. Still, in a certain sense there is a degree of truth in his affirmation[3] that

"Faith or assurance, which, if not in excess of reason, is at least independent of it, seems to be a necessity in every great department of knowledge which touches on action, and what great department is there which does not?"

There is truth to this extent, namely, that a good will and a desire for goodness as well as for truth, have an important influence on belief and conviction, and it is this fact which gives to various beliefs their moral character.[4]

---

[1] P. 239.

[2] At page 241 Mr. Balfour uses the terms "universality" and "necessity" in quite another sense, usually that of the "inevitableness" in all men of perceptions of an extended world.

[3] P. 240.

[4] In an article entitled "Sins of Belief and Sins of Unbelief," published in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1888, p. 560, we pointed out how even the truth of first principles (though evident both objectively and subjectively) and the trustworthiness of our faculties can be adhered to with a greater or less degree of readiness and firm confidence. What we see to be evidently and necessarily true both object-

As to the intensity and the diffusion of the confidence which mankind feel in the widespread existence of an external world, he[1] further says:

"It is true that all these, whatever their speculative opinions, enjoy a practical assurance with regard to what they see and touch. It is also true that few men have an assurance equally strong about matters of which their senses tell them nothing immediately, and that many men have on such subjects no assurance at all."

But nothing can well be more certain than are a multitude of hypothetical propositions about which man's senses can, "tell them nothing immediately;" *e.g.*, "if an engine can only travel thirty miles an hour, it could never traverse one hundred miles in an hour and a half." "If A having been entrusted with money to pay a debt of B, should spend it in gratifying a mere desire of his own, he would commit an unjust action," etc.

It is quite true, as Mr. Balfour says, that "the time has passed for believing that the further we go back towards the 'state of nature,' the nearer we get to virtue and to truth," but when he proceeds to affirm[2] that "we cannot extract out of the coercive character of certain unreasoned beliefs, any principle of classification which shall help us to the provisional philosophy of which we are in search," he makes an ambiguous statement which is very misleading. If he means by "unreasoned beliefs," convictions which are not the direct result of reason—which are not the product of our *intellectual* faculty—he states what is but a truism. Certainly, irrational beliefs can never help us to a philosphy, even of a provisional character. But if he means by "unreasoned beliefs" convictions which are not the result of our inferior intellectual faculty—that of *ratiocination*—but are the product of our higher intellectual faculty—that of direct *intuition*, then he makes a statement altogether false and profoundly misleading. Our "unreasoned" convictions (in this latter intuitional sense) *e.g.* (as to

---

ively and subjectively, must be true unless we are the victims of a lying power which constantly deceives us and makes the universe a universe of lies.

As we have elsewhere pointed out (in a lecture on "The Implications of Science," see *Nature*, p. 1891, pp. 60, 82, 222 and 343), a man who doubts his faculties or the veracity of the universe must fall into a self-contradiction. For he must obviously ground his doubt upon his perception of the truth, "*We cannot arrive at conclusions which are certain by means of principles which are uncertain or false.*" But if the doubter knows *that* truth, he must know that his faculties are not always fallacious, and therefore that the supposed "lying power" *cannot* deceive him in everything.

The hearty acceptance of the declaration of our reason that goodness is and must be of supreme authority with mankind, and a hearty volitional consent (as distinguished from mere assent) to the certainty of the inference "there is a God," are moral results of the dictates of our intelligence.

[1] P. 241. [2] P. 242.

the fact of our existence, and as to universal and necessary truths, and as to the validity of the process of logical inference), not only help us to, but actually provide us with, a philosophy not merely provisional, but satisfying and permanent.

Nevertheless, what he urges against the advocates of naturalism or "sensism," is most true. In so far as they represent "sense-perception" to be the absolute and highest test of truth, he is fully justified in his "complaint," that they should

"require us arbitrarily to narrow down the impulses which we may follow to the almost animal instincts lying at the root of our judgments about material phenomena."

If, as Mr. Balfour represents, we had no rational philosophical system to guide us, it would be as he says,[1]

"Surely better—but repugnant to reflective reason—to prove for ourselves some wider scheme which, though it be founded in the last resort upon our needs, shall at least take account of other needs than those we share with our brute progenitors."

He then cites Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel and Spinoza, as witnesses to the inadequacy of the "naturalistic creed," affirming that "men whose speculative genius is admitted" have seldom been content to allow that the world could be narrowed down to that pattern.

Mr. Balfour next tries to remove the obvious and serious objection to his system—the objection, namely, that it is an attempt "to rest superstition on scepticism"; "to form a creed not in accordance with the rules of logic, but with the promptings of desire." We, indeed, are one of his supposed critics who say that having discredited reason, he proceeds to make man's needs a test of truth.

To this criticism he objects[2] on the ground that he has allowed the fullest play to reason, and urges that if he has diminished in man's eyes the importance of reason, "it is by the action of reason itself that this result has been brought about," and that he has "assumed and acted upon," "the right of reason to deal with every province of knowledge."

But *no* sceptical writer would admit that his teaching was "against reason," certainly those who (like Sir William Hamilton, Mansel, Bacon, Mill, Spencer, etc.) affirm the essential "relativity of human knowledge" do not admit it. Yet though the self-contradiction involved in their systems appears to be apprehended most clearly by Mr. Balfour, he has himself fallen into a parallel inconsistency.

He further denies that in the absence of reason he has contentedly accepted mere "desire," and affirms that he has repre-

[1] P. 243.

[2] P. 246.

sented "need" and its "satisfaction" as being our guide. This relation (between need and satisfaction) he tells us[1] is "something different from that between a premise and its conclusion[2] . . . . is equally remote from that between a desire and its fulfilment." Without the logical validity of the first it has not the casual, wavering and purely subjective character of the second. He concludes:

"For the correspondence postulated is not between the fleeting fancies of the individual and the immutable verities of an unseen world, but between those characteristics of our nature, which we recognize as that in us which, though not necessarily the strongest, is the highest; which, though not always the most universal, is nevertheless the best."

Now, we are indeed so far from denying that a rational philosophy must be one which responds to human needs, as to have again and again represented that the wonderful and complete concordance which exists between Catholicism and human nature, is a very strong argument in support of the truths of revelation. But all such arguments must ultimately rest on the perception of objective and necessary truth by our intellect, and the weakness of the latter can never be validly adduced as a support for religion. But Mr. Balfour often seems to advocate religion on the ground that badly off as it is for an intellectual basis, it is not more badly off than science is.

Thus he declares we may affirm that if his system

"Furnishes us with no adequate philosophy of religion, it leaves religion no worse, or indeed otherwise provided for, in this respect than science."

And again:[3]

"We may say of it that it expresses without proof a certain consonance between . . . . what we are moved to believe and what in fact *is*. We may not say that the presuppositions of science depend upon any more solid, or, indeed, upon any different foundation."

A true system of philosophy must *indeed*, as Mr. Balfour says, "include human consciousness as an element," and must most certainly refuse to be "cabined, cribbed, confined" between the narrow walls wherein "sensism" would imprison it. But it needs much more than Mr. Balfour concedes; and as we have, we hope, already sufficiently pointed out, his limited system would be far more fatal to religion than it could possibly be to science, in spite of the good will which underlies his many admirable pages.

---

[1] P. 248.

[2] Here again we have ratiocination (a premise and its conclusion) put forward to represent reason!

[3] P. 249.

In his second chapter, entitled "*Beliefs and Formulas*," our author considers (1) the various changes of belief which may take place, (2) the effects of such changes on the formulas which antecedently serve to express such beliefs, and (3) the action of formulas on the beliefs themselves.

He tells us:[1]

"We shall more accurately conceive the true history of knowledge if we represent it under the similitude of a plastic body whose shape and size are in constant process of alteration through the operation of both external and internal forces. The internal forces are those of reason. The external forces correspond to those non-rational causes on whose importance I have already dwelt. . . . . We must not, however, regard this body of beliefs as being equally mobile in all its parts. Certain elements in it have the power of conferring on the whole something in the nature of a definite structure. These are known as 'theories,' 'hypotheses,' 'generalizations' and 'explanatory formulas' in general. They represent beliefs by which other beliefs are co-ordinated. They supply the framework in which the rest of knowledge is arranged. Their right construction is the noblest work of reason; and without their aid reason, if it could be exercised at all, would itself be driven from particular to particular in helpless bewilderment."

After protesting yet once more against this misuse of the word "belief," we gladly allow the substantial truth of the above-cited passage, and we further admit that such organizing formulas may react on the convictions they are formed to organize and preserve, as also that the increase of knowledge may lead to the abandonment of some formulas and the construction of others in their place, as, *e.g.*, with respect to the movements of the heavenly bodies, the phenomena we have attributed to gravity, etc.

As an instance, Mr. Balfour quotes[2] the change which has taken place with respect to the theories about heat—the change from regarding it as a "form of matter" to considering it as a "mode of motion." Yet these changes of view never, as he truly says, affect our certainty as to the existence of some objective cause for our sensations of warmth.

But a religious doctrine is, he says, too apt to be rejected, owing to changes which have arisen in the mode of regarding some formula supposed to represent it and its relation to other truths.

"How many persons," he observes,[3] "are there who, because they dislike the theories of atonement propounded, say, by Anselm, or by Grotius, or the versions of these which have imbedded themselves in the devotional literature of Western Europe, feel bound, in 'reason,' to give up the doctrine itself? Because they cannot compress within the rigid limits of some semi-legal formula a mystery which, unless it were too vast for our full intellectual comprehension, would surely be too narrow for our spiritual need, the mystery itself is to be rejected! Because they cannot contrive to their satisfaction a system of ideological jurisprudence which shall include Redemption as a leading case, Redemption is no longer to be wanted among the consolations of mankind!"

[1] P. 252. [2] P. 256. [3] P. 258.

This is excellent and well put. There is a constant danger with pious Catholics of identifying doctrines which are *de fide* with modes of imagining and representing[1] them which may be popular or even universal at any particular time or place.

This is certainly and emphatically the case with that view of the Sacrifice of the Cross which would regard it merely as "defrauding the devil of what would otherwise have been his right," and as "enabling the Almighty, by a legal fiction, to grant a pardon otherwise impossible," instead of its being the greatest and noblest ethical "object lesson" which has been given to the world from its creation to this day.

The Church sometimes loses ill-instructed Catholics because they mistake pious opinions about and familiar representations of a dogma, with that dogma itself, and crowds of non-Catholics are kept out of the Church by the very same cause. From our experience we believe that this is above all the case with respect to the doctrine of eternal damnation—the eternal *pœna sensûs*—although that dogma as authoritatively defined need in no way conflict with our ethical intuitions, as we have elsewhere endeavored to show.

No single proposition put forward by us on that subject has been condemned, and so no one of them need be rejected.

The letters we have received from grateful Catholics who have been enabled, through our humble effort, to remain within the Church's fold, have afforded us a great and abiding consolation.

Mr. Balfour contends that development of doctrine is much easier in science than in religion, because in the latter case particular views are more closely associated with emotion and social activity. We venture to think, however, that scientific disputes are sometimes as intense and virulent as any which have taken place between contending divines. An example of such contentions is supplied by Mr. Darwin's theory—a theory to which its author clung with all the ardor of the promulgator of a new heresy, and which has excited the emotions and directed the actions of many men and women as much as have the doctrines of many a religious sect.

On the other hand, though there is much danger to individual Catholics themselves from their clinging immovably to old and inaccurate notions and mental images,[2] the development of Catho-

---

[1] Of course this is no way intended to slight the imperative obligation of accepting the words of an authoritative definition of faith no less than the doctrine they are intended to express.

[2] In our article, "Science in Fetters," in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1895, pp. 12 and 13, we observed, of such mental images, that "the misleading effects of the imagination is a terrible bar to the comprehension and acceptance of the supernatural truths

lic doctrine takes place quite as harmoniously as does that of any branch of science.

As to theological developments, Mr. Balfour himself bears witness to their successful advance, though some expressions he uses in describing it are naturally open to objection. He says:[1]

"Yet even in such cases it is interesting to note how unexpectedly the most difficult adjustments are sometimes effected; how, partly by the conscious and still more by the unconscious wisdom of mankind; by a little kindly forgetfulness; by a few happy inconsistencies; by methods which might not always bear the scrutiny of the logician, though they may well be condoned by the philosopher, the changes required by the general movement of belief are made with less friction and at a smaller cost—even to the enlightened—than might, perhaps, have been antecedently expected."

He deprecates[2] what he calls "the rage for defining which seized so large a portion of Christendom, both Roman and non-Roman, during the Reformation troubles."

But no "portions" of Roman Christendom were so seized; the whole Catholic Church, having seen the ravages effected by the detestable errors which sprung from Luther and Calvin, was compelled to declare what was the truth, and, as Father Hecker declared, the liberty of Christians, outside of what is *de fide*, became, and has continued so to be, hampered and limited through the terrible curse of Protestantism. The decrees of Trent, far from having decayed in the Catholic Church, have provided an excellent framework for the perpetual conservation of the doctrines it defined, in spite of what Mr. Balfour says to the contrary.[3]

He tells us, however, that what concerns him is the danger that the "combination of theory and practice may threaten the smooth development of religious beliefs." That it may not only do this as regards certain religious bodies which may be interesting to Mr. Balfour, but even shatter them altogether, is very possible; but the greater the practical fidelity of Catholics, the greater will be the ease wherewith any further development of the doctrines implicitly contained in the deposit of the Church, will most surely be effected in the most logical manner possible.[4]

The third chapter, which is headed "*Beliefs, Formulas and Realities*," contains some very excellent matter, but with various exaggerations, while it also displays some misapprehensions on the part of its author.

---

of revelation . . . . all human language is composed of sensuous symbols. It is manifest, therefore, that in every instance there is a danger of pressing too strongly the mere symbol . . . . it is surely incumbent on us to be on our guard against the ill effects of mistaking symbols for things symbolized. Otherwise, we may unconsciously be the means of imposing fetters on the religious conceptions of well-meaning, simple-minded persons.

[1] P. 262. [2] Pp. 260 and 261. [3] At p. 261.

[4] See our article, "Authority and Evolution," in the *Tablet* for August, 1896.

He begins with a statement that the theological road is smoothed by the fact that "large changes and adaptations of belief are possible within the limits of the same unchanging formulas," since a close examination shows that different persons may make the same assertion in good faith without thereby meaning the same thing. He gives as an example[1] the assertion "that Julius Cæsar was murdered at Rome in the first century B.C.," and contends that the statement cannot mean the same thing to the historian and the school boy, or to persons who take different views as to the nature of death or that of man.

He says, indeed, "this may perhaps seem to be an unprofitable subtlety," and so in one respect it is; for the naked fact in itself must be the same to all rational persons. Yet it is not *altogether* "unprofitable," since it gives an opportunity for clearing away an ambiguity which lurks beneath that subtlety.

Every external occurrence that takes place and is known to have occurred, has two aspects or characters in the mind of each person who knows it. There is for each such person (1) an objective and (2) a subjective aspect or character to every such fact of knowledge and every statement made expressing knowledge of such fact The objective aspect is the same for all; but the subjective aspect, or character, is different in every individual. In the instance given such subjective character is made up in each person, *e.g.*, (1) of the relation born by the fact cognized to other facts[2] known by him; (2) of the sentiments he may entertain: (*a*) as to the person and character of Cæsar; (*b*) as to the best form of government; (*c*) as to ethical possibilities as regards regicide, etc.; (3) of the essential nature of man; (4) as to the nature of death, and a variety of other private beliefs and sentiments. But to say that because men thus differ subjectively they do not agree and mean the same thing with regard to the objective fact, we cannot regard as other than an altogether unreasonable statement.

Mr. Balfour next proceeds to apply this essentially confused notion to the belief of mankind in God. He says:[3]

"A similar reflection is of obvious importance when we come to consider, for example, such propositions as there is a God, or there is a world of material things! Both these statements might be, and are, accepted by the rudest savage and by the most advanced philosopher. They may, so far as we can tell, continue to be accepted by men in all stages of culture till the last inhabitant of a perishing world is frozen into unconsciousness. Yet, plainly the savage and the philosopher use these words in very different meanings. From the tribal deity of early times to the Christian God, or, if you prefer it, the Hegelian Absolute; from matter as conceived by primitive man to matter as it is conceived by the modern physicist, how great the interval!

[1] P. 264.

[2] Thus making the difference between the "schoolboy" and the "historian."

[3] P. 264.

The formulas are the same, the beliefs are plainly not the same. Nay, so wide are they apart that while to those who hold the earlier view the later would be quite meaningless, it may require the highest effort of sympathetic imagination for those whose minds are steeped in the later view to reconstruct, even imperfectly, the substance of the earlier. The civilized man cannot understand the savage, nor the grown man the child."

From this statement we differ absolutely. Instead of saying "how vast the interval" between the conceptions of the cultured and the uncultured mind, we exclaim, as we have before exclaimed,[1] how complete is the fundamental identity!

Let us consider, first, our conception of God. Like every other idea it cannot be sustained before the mind without the aid of some sensuous image derived from the imagination, and its inadequacy to make known to us the divine reality is simply infinite. Therefore, the God of the savage and of the philosopher become almost identical when compared with the objective reality they severally try to represent.[2] In a less degree an analogous affirmation may be made as to men's conception of "matter."

Everybody has a practical knowledge of it, but *as* it is in itself it is essentially unknown and unknowable, and will doubtless ever so remain to mortal ken. The atomist and the idealist, different as their conceptions of matter are compared with those of the ordinary man, can speak of it only through the aid of sensuous symbols fundamentally similar to his. The minutest atom is thus for them as solid as a boulder, and a vortex ring of ether as a ring of smoke or vapor. That the civilized man can understand the savage is a truism, for multitudes of Catholic missionaries do so, nor do Christian brothers fail to comprehend the childish minds wherewith long practice has made them familiar.

---

[1] Our personal intercourse with Sussex peasantry—certainly not exceptionally intellectual amongst peasants—has convinced us that it is an easy matter to make them understand very abstract philosophical truths. With a little patience and some pains in making use of his rustic vocabulary and turns of expression, we found it quite easy to make an illiterate cowherd comprehend Berkleyan idealism, and we were greatly interested to find that he rejected it on the very grounds which had led us to abandon it after having been for years its captive. See *The Origin of Human Reason* (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889), p. 238. The difference which divides such men from men of culture is analogous to that which distinguishes the *crème de la crème* of fashionable society from the professional and mercantile classes of the community —namely, the familiar use of a certain vocabulary to which may be added, as regards the inner circle of the *beau monde*, the frequent employment of a peculiar intonation.

[2] This truth, which we have again and again affirmed, is accepted by Mr. Balfour, who, a little further on (p. 277), says: "It may be, indeed I think it is, the case that our approximate guesses are still closer to his [*i.e.*, primitive man's] than they are to their common object, and that far as we seem to have travelled, yet, measured on the celestial scale, our intellectual progress is scarcely to be discerned, so minute is the parallax of infinite truth."

Mr. Balfour next asks:[1]

"Can we, in the face of the wide divergence of meaning frequently conveyed by the same formula at different times, assert that what endures in such cases is anything more than a mere husk or a shell? Is it more than the mould into which any metal, base or precious, may be poured at will? Does identity of expression imply anything which deserves to be described as community of belief? Are we here dealing with things or only with words?"

Of course there are formulas and formulas, and by no means every formula (*i.e.*, every statement) is an assertion of what is really an objective truth. Nevertheless, as to a multitude of such formulas we may confidently affirm that what endures is "more than a husk or shell," and that it is even a very precious "kernel." There is, however, "a husk or shell," but that is neither the formula nor its intellectual content, but that wrapping of mental images wherein every one of our intellectual perceptions and conceptions is enshrouded, and of which our poor human nature is compelled to make use in order to retain such perceptions or conceptions before the mind. We need not here insist upon this fact or on the dangers thence arising to our perception of truth, since we have pointed out this matter at length in a paper[2] to which we have more than once referred.

We affirm that words "used in the same sense" do correspond "to the same thought," objectively, however different or various may be the subjective conditions attending it, as we have before pointed out with respect to assertions about the death of Cæsar.

Language, no doubt, is very inferior to thought, and often, from narrowness, is unable to give full and complete expression to thought, and on this account new expressions and all sorts of technical terms are invented and come into use. Thus a more and more perfect correspondence between the symbol (the *verbum oris*) and the intellectual conception (the *verbum mentale*) is brought about and terms acquire the validity and force which logic assigns to them. For a blindness to what he regards as the great inadequacy of language to express thought, Mr. Balfour somewhat blames the schoolmen, though as to their indulging in "excessive subtleties," he observes,[3] such is "surely no great crime in a metaphysician," and their endeavor to combine "the philosophy and the theology of their day" was an attempt which seems to him "to be entirely praiseworthy."

Mr. Balfour's next strange contention is that all knowledge, and every statement which is incomplete, is false, and therefore

---

[1] P. 265.

[2] See, again, our article entitled "Science in Fetters" in the *Dublin Review* for January and July, 1895.

[3] P. 267.

he contends[1] that if we say "every belief must be either true or not true," then

"Most, if not all, the positive beliefs which deal with concrete reality—the very beliefs, in short, about which a reasonable man may be expected principally to interest himself—would, in strictness, have to be classed among the 'not true.'" His contention is "that inasmuch as any fragmentary presentation of a concrete whole must, because it is fragmentary, be therefore erroneous, the full complexity of any true belief about reality will necessarily transcend the comprehension of any finite intelligence. We know only in part, and we *therefore know wrongly*."[2]

It is, of course, most true that no one but God can know the whole truth about anything, because no one but God can know the full relations existing between that thing and divine intelligence. It is also most true that no statement any man can make, and no knowledge a human being can possess about any object whatever, can express or contain all its relations with the created universe.

But to say, on that account, that a partial knowledge is false, erroneous or wrongly known, because it is thus incomplete, seems to us to be an outrageously irrational operation.

Is the statement "the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal" false or erroneous because it does not also express the facts which follow if its sides be produced? Is it false to say "a gibbon's arms are relatively longer than those of any other ape," because it does not also declare that "a gibbon has no tail," or that "no ape except a species of gibbon has a chin?"

But the fact that every statement must be true or false does not in the least conflict with the no less certain fact that many concrete statements are a mixture of truth and error. Every statement so containing truth and error is really not a single statement, but a blending of two or more, which require to be accurately distinguished as component and subordinate parts, each of which will then be found (when the analysis has been carried far enough) to be either true or false.

Mr. Balfour says:[3]

"However profound may be our ignorance of our ignorance, at least we should realize that to describe (when using language strictly) any scheme of belief as wholly false which has even imperfectly met the needs of mankind, is the height of arrogance; and to claim for any beliefs which we may happen to approve that they are wholly true, is the height of absurdity."

A man would indeed be foolish who should describe any such "scheme of belief as wholly false," or who should affirm that his own had complete objective truth, as we shall shortly see. He continues:[4]

[1] P. 268. [2] The italics are ours. [3] P. 270. [4] P. 271.

"Nowhere [save in abstract propositions], neither in our knowledge of ourselves, nor in our knowledge of each other, nor in our knowledge of the material world, nor in our knowledge of God, is there any belief which is more than an approximation, any method which is free from flaw, any result not tainted with error. The simplest intuitions and the remotest speculations fall under the same condemnation."

This is much too strong a statement. As to the whole truth about anything, as we just said, no one of course can know that but God, and, *à fortiori*, this applies to our religious knowledge, but that does not prevent our having a perfectly true knowledge of the difference between a group of three marbles and a group of five marbles. Our knowledge of their numerical difference is a perfectly true knowledge, and is not "tainted with error."

Mr. Balfour next remarks:

"To some persons this train of reflection suggests nothing but sceptical misgiving and intellectual despair. To me it seems, on the other hand, to save us from both. What kind of a universe would that be which we could understand? It it were intelligible (by us), would it be credible? If our reason could comprehend it, would it not be too narrow for our needs? 'I believe because it is impossible,' may be a pious paradox. 'I disbelieve because it is simple,'[1] commends itself to me as an axiom; an axiom doubtless to be used with discretion; an axiom which may easily be perverted in the interests of idleness and superstition; but one, nevertheless, which contains a valuable truth not always remembered by those who make especial profession of worldly wisdom."

There *is* valuable truth in this passage, though it is, nevertheless, a gross exaggeration to say that if it were intelligible to us (which it could only be by our having divine knowledge infused into us), it might not be credible.

Mr. Balfour next proceeds to consider[2] the questions: (1) how the immutability claimed for theological doctrines and the movement observed in theological ideas can be reconciled, and (2) what is the value of "uniformity of theological profession?"

He thinks answers can be obtained by keeping in mind: (A) the distinction between the function of formulas as *dogmas* and as *bases of co-operation*, and (B) the distinction between the "*accuracy*" and the "*real truth*[3] of the various beliefs" they express.

As to the former distinction, our author very strangely avers that under certain circumstances "successful co-operation" may be much more important than "the attainment of speculative truths."

We must certainly never forget that Mr. Balfour is, philosoph-

[1] A similar objection was long ago raised by us to the hypothesis of *Natural Selection*, which has been very widely accepted on account of the ease with which it seems, at first, able to explain the phenomena of organic life.

[2] Pp. 272 and 273.

[3] For us, no statement can be accurate which is not really true.

ically, above all a sceptic, while he is a most able and admirable politician in the best sense of that word. We can thus understand his preference, now and again, for "co-operation" rather than for "truth."

Nevertheless the following passage[1] is admirable and very true:

"A church is something more than a body of more or less qualified persons engaged more or less successfully in the study of theology. It requires a very different equipment from that which is sufficient for a learned society. Something more is asked of it than independent research. It is an organization charged with a great practical work. For the successful promotion of this work unity, discipline and self-devotion are the principal requisites; and, as in the case of every other organization, the most powerful source of these qualities is to be found in the feeling aroused by common memories, common hopes, common loyalties, by professions in which all agree; by a ceremonial which all share; by customs and commands which all obey."

But he allows that co-operation may be bought too dear, and, as his position forces him to do, asserts "schism" to be sometimes "justifiable."

He then turns to consider the truth of formulas and so makes plain how it is he can rank "co-operation" above "truth."

He says:[2]

"No agreement about theological or any other doctrine insures, or, indeed, is capable of producing sameness of belief. We are no more able to believe what other people believe than to feel what other people feel. Two friends read together the same description of a landscape. Does anyone suppose that it stirs within them precisely *the same quality* of *sentiment*, or works precisely the same subtle associations? . . . . But if no representation of the splendors of Nature can produce in us any perfect identity of admiration, why expect the definitions of theology or science to produce in us any perfect *identity of belief?*"

We have on various occasions pointed out how our author's arguments are invalidated through his confusion of "reason" with "ratiocination." In the above passage, however, we have a far more serious confusion, namely, a confusion between *intellectual apprehensions* and *emotional feelings!* To discriminate between numerically different groups of marbles is not an emotion, neither an apprehension that men have inferred through the principle of Causation, that "there must be a God," or the apprehension that the eucharistic presence has been defined by the Church as "Transubstantiation." Emotion, of course, may facilitate and intensify, or weaken, or make difficult, the *acceptance* of religious doctrines; but their intellectual apprehension is an essentially distinct matter.

Mr. Balfour consoles himself for what he considers the impossibility of similarity of belief, by the reflection that there are agreements between men of all epochs in matters about which they seem most to differ.

---

[1] P. 274.

[2] P. 275. The italics are ours.

"I like," he says,[1] "to think of the human race, from whatever stock its members may have sprung, in whatever age they may be born, whatever creed they may profess, together in the presence of the One Reality, engaged, not wholly in vain, in spelling out some fragments of its message. All share its being;[2] to none are its oracles wholly dumb."

As to the different religious conditions of mankind we shall shortly say a few words, but we will first finish our notice of this chapter.

Our author asks,[3] and (if knowledge is in the parlous state he represents it to be) he may very well ask:

"When and what are those immutable docrines which, in the opinion of most theologians, ought to be handed on, a sacred trust, from generation to generation?"

Strange to say, he answers this by representing truths of revelation as parallel to those of "science."

"They also are the trustees of statements which ought to be preserved unchanged through all revolutions."

Yet none of these statements can be more accurate than the, for him, ambiguous proposition which affirms "Cæsar is dead."

Nevertheless we are assured[4] that the fact they "have a different import for different persons and for different ages,"

"is not only consistent with their value as vehicles for the transmission of truth—it is essential to it"!

This is quite true of religious doctrines in one sense, but not in the Balfour sense, *i.e.*, because they mean different things to different people.[5]

The profound truths of religion have a value which is due to their inexhaustible significance, and this is the *raison d'être* and makes possible "the development of Christian doctrine" as expounded by the late Cardinal Newman.

Therefore to these truths the following words of Mr. Balfour are indeed applicable:

"If their meaning could be exhausted by one generation they would be false for the next. It is because they can be charged with a richer and richer content as our knowledge slowly grows to a fuller harmony with the Infinite Reality that they may be counted among the most precious of our inalienable possessions."[6]

---

[1] P. 276.
[2] A singularly pantheistic expression!
[3] P. 277.
[4] P. 278.
[5] Of course, the dogmas of religion must be different in different persons so far as regards their phantasmata. The imaginations are affected by the different degrees of culture and diverse environments, but that does not prevent the essential unity of the mental conception of each dogma in all.
[6] To the end of this third chapter Mr. Balfour appends a note wherein he speaks of the exceptionally great value of the results of the Christian controversies of the

We will now return to the questions concerning (1) the entire truthfulness of any and each man's scheme of belief and (2) the different religious conditions of mankind.

Mr. Balfour does not appear to recognize the fact that God has certainly made to us any distinct and *authoritative* revelation, though, as we shall see, he holds that God graciously assists human reason universally. We Catholics, of course, are certain that He has done so, and that the Church acts with Divine authority and conveys to us the most complete knowledge of truths possible for us in those relatively few points which are *de fide*.

Nevertheless, since our reason makes God so far known to us as to enable us to appreciate His utter incomprehensibility—since we know that it is only God who can know what the word "God" really means—it is evident that no revelation could express to us men fully and adequately, God's essential nature or the entire truth concerning His relations with the creatures He has made. These things as known to God himself—that is to say, "objective religion" cannot be communicated to us save by symbols and more or less remote analogies congruous with our nature and faculties. As Holy Scripture tells us, we now can only see "as in a glass darkly."

So far we concede that Mr. Balfour is right in deprecating an assertion that we are "wholly right"—that is, in the sense that we possess objective truth, as known to Almighty God. Mr. Balfour's other assertion,[1] that no scheme of belief is wholly false,[2] has also a direct relation with the truths above stated.

"first four centuries." He very truly says that the Church insisted on preserving "the idea of the Godhead which was essentially involved in the Christian revelation . . . . in all its inexplicable fulness . . . . such simplifications as those of the Arians, for example, are so alien and impossible to modern modes of thought that if they had been incorporated with Christianity they must have destroyed it." This is, of course, most true, but it is very interesting as a statement by Mr. Balfour.

Even more remarkable is one made by that illustrious Unitarian, Dr. Martineau in his criticism of Mr. Balfour's book (see the *Fortnightly Review* for April, 1895, p. 564). In the passage referred to he distinctly censures Arianism and supports St. Athanasius, as understood, of course, by Dr. Martineau. He says: "Is not this, then, a true conception, that we see in the mind of Christ the very essence of the mind of God?" For us the wonderful providence which has assisted the Church in her great successive definitions about our Lord, itself amounts almost to a demonstration of the truth of Christianity. Thus the successive errors and their corrections may be tabulated as follows: Error (1), Christ was a mere man; (correction), "Superhuman." (2) He was not really God; (c) He was really God. (3) He was God the Father; (c) He was not so. (4) He was of like substance with the Father; (c) He was of the same substance. (5) He consisted of two persons; (c) He was one in person. (6) He had but one nature; (c) He had two natures. (7) He had but one will; (c) He had two wills, and so on.

[1] P. 270. [2] Pp. 270 and 276.

God, omnipotent though He be, cannot, as we have said, make Himself truly comprehensible to us by any revelation. As we have practically said, not only His own Being, but our actual relation to Him, the full nature of His claims, the happiness He can bestow and the awfulness of estrangement from Him, can only be revealed to us with practical efficacy sufficient for our needs. But, *in that way*, they have been amply and truthfully revealed to us.

Hence it is that the profound difference which exists between His revelation and any other religion whatever is so vast that human language is utterly unable to express it.

Nevertheless Christian writers, from the very early days of the Church to our own times, have maintained that other religions have not been devoid of their various shares of truth. St. Clement of Alexandria was amongst the early fathers who thus taught, and amongst later authorities we may cite Cardinal Newman, whose memorable words[1] as to God's action amongst religious errors, were as follows:

"His writing is upon the wall, whether of the Indian fane or the porticos of Greece . . . . He is with the heathen dramatist in his denunciation of injustice and tryanny, and his auguries of divine vengeance upon crime. Even on the unseemly legends of a popular mythology He casts His shadow, and it is dimly discerned in the ode or the epic, as in troubled water or in fantastic dreams. All that is good, all that is pure, all that is beautiful, all that is beneficent, be it great or small, be it perfect or fragmentary, natural as well as supernatural, moral as well as material, comes from Him."

Therefore in a certain sense the paganism of Greece and Rome was "true," and, in its degree, "righteous," and Zeus and Athene, Ares and Aphrodite were, in their way, fragmentary, one-sided expressions of the Divine.

But to say this simply would be fatally to mislead, because, on account of the poverty of human language, it would disguise the infinite distinction which exists between the Christian religion—the Catholic Church—and every other. Therefore it is that whatever can be urged in favor of any other religions they can at best but be called manifestations of the Divine, while the term *revelation* is reserved for Christianity alone.

To these considerations we shall have again to refer towards the close of our review of Mr. Balfour's valuable work.

In his fourth chapter, "*Ultimate Scientific Ideas*," Mr. Balfour turns aside to examine once more the foundations of science with special reference to the amusing confusions of thought and self-contradictions of poor Mr. Herbert Spencer.

---

[1] In his *Discourse on University Education*, 1852, p. 96.

He begins by observing that some of his readers are disposed to consider science as a land of Goshen bright with sunshine, and religion a region wrapped in Egyptian darkness. This delusion he proposes to dispel by an examination of "fundamental scientific ideas considered in themselves." These, he says,[1] seem quite simple as used in daily life, yet seem to crumble to pieces under criticism.

And here again we are forced, with regret, to protest against our author's scepticism, which, as we have again and again urged, is far more fatal to religion than to physical science—the latter being supported by *intuitions* and the former being necessarily based on *inferences*.

He takes as his example for criticism the following statement:

"We are, each of us, situated at any given moment in some particular portion of space, surrounded by a multitude of material things, which are constantly acting upon us and upon each other."

He then urges that its purport is clear only till it is examined, and asks a number of questions to which he seems to think no satisfactory answers can be given. We will therefore here quote them and supply our own answers to each in brackets.

"What are we?" [Extended, thinking substance.] "What is space?" [Nothing but an abstraction—the extension of all extended things.] "Can we be in space, or is it only our bodies about which any such statement can be made?" [Our bodies and we are one.] "What is a 'thing,' and in particular what is a 'material thing?'" [Every one who knows anything knows what he means by a "thing," though the elementary nature of the conception of existence forbids its definition.[2] A material thing is an extended entity.] "What is meant by saying that one 'material thing' acts upon another, or that 'material things' act upon us?" [Those conceptions are too elementary for explanation, but they are perfectly known and understood by every sane mind.]

He then further considers what is a "material thing," saying:[3]

"Nothing can be plainer till you consider it. Nothing can be obscurer when you do. A 'thing' has qualities—hardness, weight, shape and so forth. Is it merely the sum of these qualities, or is it something more? If it is merely the sum of its qualities, have these any independence? Nay, is such an independent existence even conceivable? If it is something more, what is the relation of the 'qualities' to the 'something more?'"

These very old questions are, of course, most familiar to Catholics

---

[1] Pp. 280–281.

[2] Obviously it is as impossible to explain every conception and term as to continue reasoning *ad infinitum*.

[3] P. 282.

who have done their "philosophy." The answers are, of course, well known to Mr. Balfour, although, also of course, since he does not accept the evident objective truth of those first principles which are indispensable to a true philosophy, he can have no esteem for those answers which Catholic philosophy supplies. It declares, as we all know, that a "thing" is more than "the sum of its qualities." We also know that it is not only "conceivable" that such qualities may have an independent existence (since all instructed Catholics actually *do*, and therefore plainly *can*, conceive of it), but they know that such qualities do so exist in the case of the Holy Sacrament.

Again he asks, "Can we regard 'a thing' as an isolated 'somewhat,' an entirely self-sufficient and potentially solitary?" To which we reply we certainly can regard "a thing" as essentially 'a thing in itself' potentially solitary, but that does not in the least prevent our recognizing that it owes both its origin and its actual continuance to other things.

Our author tells us that he only serves up these "cold fragments of ancient controversies in order to make it plain that such difficulties, though generally quite ignored, underlie our knowledge of phenomena" no less than our notions of æsthetics and ethics as well as of theology "where many persons seem glad enough to acknowledge" their existence.

He then[1] turns to examine the "very perverted" views which form the basis of "the only modern system of English growth which, professing to provide us with a general philosophy, has received any appreciable amount of popular support"—names Mr. Spencer's.

His teaching is, we learn, that "ultimate scientific ideas" and "ultimate theological ideas" are alike unthinkable, from which (as Mr. Balfour properly affirms) the logical consequence would be that "both these grand departments are infected by the same weakness."

But Mr. Spencer will not admit this.

> "The idea that the conclusions of science should be profaned by speculative questioning is to him intolerable." So "he divides the verities which have to be believed into those which relate to the knowable and those which relate to the unknowable. What is knowable he appropriates, without exception, for science. What is unknowable he abandons without reserve to religion."

But Mr. Balfour questions the validity of this curious arrangement; for if "ultimate" scientific ideas are unthinkable, "proximate" scientific ideas are thereby invalidated.[2]

---

[1] P. 284. [2] P. 286.

"That which in the order of reason is dependent, cannot be unaffected by the weaknesses and obscurities of that on which it depends. If the one is unintelligible, the other can hardly be rationally established."

Mr. Spencer shuts his eyes to doubts about science, saying, "To ask whether science is substantially true is much like asking whether the sun gives light."[1]

To which Mr. Balfour rejoins:[2]

"After due consideration we shall have to admit, I think, that it does not. For it is a statement which, if made intelligently, not only involves the comprehension of matters, space, time and force, which are, according to Mr. Spencer, all incomprehensible, but there is the further difficulty that, if his system is to be believed, what we are conscious of as properties of matter, even down to weight and resistance, are but subjective affections produced by objective agencies, which are unknown and unknowable.[3] It would seem, therefore, either that the sun is a subjective affection, in which case it can hardly be said to give light; or it is 'unknown' and 'unknowable,' in which case no assertion respecting it can be regarded as supplying us with any very flattering specimen of scientific certitude."

Mr. Balfour further very justly says that nobody is required to investigate first principles, but that if any one voluntarily undertakes so to do, he should not shrink from results.

Mr. Spencer has failed to see whither his speculations inevitably lead. This is very distinctly recognized by Mr. Balfour, but the latter also, according to us, has likewise failed to see whither his own sceptical system leads, and how inevitably it cuts the ground from beneath that religious edifice he so zealously labors to erect.

Nevertheless, in his fifth chapter (*Science and Theology*) our author very skilfully and admirably draws out the best arguments which his system renders possible, to show that science not only supports, but even itself requires, the aid of religion, and leads us to recognize and apprehend the fact that a divine "preferential" activity energizes in the world about us.

He begins by observing there are two classes of persons who accept a certain amount of theology: (1) those who accept only what they think may be deduced from "scientific principles," and (2) those who accept provisionally and tentatively "so much of theology as they think their naturalistic premisses do not positively contradict."

Now, in order to prevent confusion, it may be well to observe that, as we all know, Catholics only accept such theology as "may be deduced from scientific premisses," since they accept the teaching of the Church as it is grounded on those self-evident first principles of reason which constitute the prolegomena of revelation and by the aid of which the fact of revelation is made clear. But

[1] See his *First Principles*, p. 19.
[2] P. 287.
[3] See his *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 493.

of course they hold, like Mr. Balfour, the system of "sensism" (his naturalism) in utter scorn and contempt.

Nevertheless, subjectively, the disciples of utter "naturalism" are more at ease than are the members of Mr. Balfour's two classes above distinguished. For the "sensists" are blind to the inadequateness and incoherence of their system, while they have a comfortable feeling that they have reached their journey's end, having worked out these principles to their natural conclusion, so that they may at least rest if it is not given them to be thankful.

But the members of Mr. Balfour's two classes have a much worse time of it. As he says:[1]

> "To them, each new discovery in geology, morphology, anthropology, or the 'higher criticism,' arouses as much theological anxiety as it does scientific interest. They are perpetually occupied in the task of 'reconciling,' as the phrase goes, 'religion and science.' This is to them not an intellectual luxury, but a pressing and overmastering necessity. For their theology exists on sufferance. It rules over its hereditary territories as a tributary vassal dependant on the forbearance of some encroaching overlord. Province after province which once acknowledged its sovereignty has been torn from its grasp, and it depends no longer upon its own action, but upon the uncontrolled policy of its too powerful neighbor, how long it shall preserve a precarious authority over the remainder."

This truly depicts the sad condition of these religionists of feeble convictions and a fragmentary creed precariously supported. But even Catholics, though retaining firmly their faith, may occasionally be vexed and troubled by difficulties which the progress of knowledge has brought forward and which do trouble them, not because they are inconsistent with any dogma, but because they disturb or destroy those images of the imagination (*phantasmata*), the aid of which such troubled souls had become accustomed to make use of in their conception of the dogma in question. As a learned religious once said to us, "every now and then a new limelight is turned on and vision is for a brief space troubled and confused thereby."

But Mr. Balfour, by his above-quoted remark, by no means intends to deny[2] either that it is not our business to "reconcile" all beliefs, so far as possible, into a self-consistent whole; or, if that cannot be done, to represent contradictions and obscurities as matters of indifference. The difficulties which "science, ethics, or theology have to solve in common" are, he considers, "more formidable by far" than any which may intervene between science and religion, which he regards as "comparatively trifling."

He clearly states a great and important truth, which is far too much lost sight of, and which is quite ignored by men of science who are not religious. It is the truth that physical science "is in

---

[1] P. 291. [2] P. 292.

no way concerned to deny the reality of a world unrevealed to us in sense perception, nor the existence of a God who, however imperfectly, may be known by those who diligently seek him."

Such matters he declares,[1] as we did in the beginning of the preceding part[2] of our review, it ought to declare to be beyond its jurisdiction.

What possible concern can the facts of physical science have to do with the dogmas of religion?

Is spectrum analysis less carefully carried on if the observer is a Franciscan tertiary than if he is a follower of Spencer? Is there any inconsistency in a student of Wood's Holl Laboratory making a pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial out of devotion to the Sacred Heart?

To return to Mr. Balfour: He says that any real difficulty which may exist "in forming a system which shall include both theology and science" does not lie in the doctrine that there is a hyperphysical support for the whole system of "natural phenomena," nor in attributing to it reason, or "something higher than reason, and including reason." He adds:[3]

"This belief, if necessary for theology, is at the same time so far, in my judgment, from being repugnant to science that, without it, the scientific view of the natural world would not be less, but more, beset with difficulties than it is at present."

Mr. Balfour perceives clearly what has also appeared true to us, that nature, apart from man, does not easily supply us with convincing proofs of Theism.[4]

But he adds:[5]

"That if we bring this [Theistic] belief with us to the study of phenomena, we can say of it . . . . that, broadly speaking, and in the rough, the facts harmonize with it, and that it gives a unity and coherence to our apprehension of the natural world which it would not otherwise possess."

He then urges (as we have done again and again) that "the mere fact that *we know*" is full of divine significance. He reminds us that, on the "naturalistic hypothesis," knowledge, reason, and volition are the chance products of the blind operation of material

---

[1] P. 293. [2] See AMER. CATH. QUAR. REVIEW for July, 1896. [3] P. 294.

[4] Mr. Balfour says: "You cannot infer a God from the existence of the world as you infer an architect from the existence of a house, or a mechanic from the existence of a watch." But we have always maintained, and maintain, that the existence of God is made evident to us by the fact that there is a universe which, being single, could never have owed its qualities to natural selection, and which, since it displays a modicum of knowledge, volition and goodness *in man*, must have had for its cause a being with attributes such that those three qualities in man are but the faintest adumbration of them. [5] P. 295.

causes, and that morality and reason are but "unconscious tools in the hands of their immoral and non-rational antecedents." As Mr. Balfour has so well shown in the first part of his work, without assuming a rational cause for our own reason we stultify ourselves. He says:[1]

"The professor of naturalism, rejoicing in the display of his dialectical resources, is like a voyager, pacing, at his own pleasure, up and down the ship's deck, who should suppose that his movements had some important share in determining his position on the illimitable ocean? And the parallel would be complete if we can conceive such a voyager pointing to the alertness of his step and the vigor of his limbs as arguring well for the successful prosecution of his journey, while assuring you in the very same breath that the vessel, within whose narrow bounds he displays all this meaningless activity, is drifting, he knows not whence nor whither, without pilot or captain, at the bidding of shifting winds and incalculable currents."

"Consider the following propositions selected from the naturalistic creed or deduced from it:

"(I.) My beliefs, in so far as they are the result of reasoning at all, are founded on premises produced in the last resort by the 'cohesion of atoms.'

"(II.) Atoms, having no prejudices in favor of truth, are as likely to turn out wrong premises as right ones; nay, more likely, inasmuch as truth is single and error manifold.

"(III.) My premises, therefore, in the first place, and my conclusions in the second, are certainly untrustworthy, and probably false. Their falsity, moreover, is of a kind which cannot be remedied, since any attempt to correct it must start from premises not suffering under the same defects. But no such premises exist.

"(IV.) Therefore, again, my opinion about the original causes which produced my premises, as it is an inference from them, partakes of their weakness, so that I cannot either securely doubt my own certainties or be certain about my doubts.

Our author next considers the argument that "Natural Selection" might have brought about a conformity of thought to fact, as he previously suggested that the inevitableness of our perception of an external world might have been thus produced. Evidently, however, as he urges[2] powers which had been developed solely to enable their possessor to obtain food and escape enemies, not only cannot be expected to supply us with metaphysics or theology; they cannot be expected to give us any general view of the world of phenomena, or to do more "than guide us . . . . from the satisfaction of one useful appetite to the satisfaction of another." These perplexities can, in Mr. Balfour's opinion,[3] only be escaped by

"The pre-supposition that it (*i.e.*, the world) was the work of a rational being, who made *it* intelligible, and at the same time made *us*, in however feeble a fashion, able to understand it."

This pre-supposition, however, is, in our author's opinion, far from solving all difficulties. Indeed, in a note, he adds:

[1] P, 297. [2] P. 300. [3] P. 301.

"There must be a God to justify our confidence in (what used to be called) innate ideas."

Such a statement, however, is one which leads either to absolute scepticism, or to a system of blind faith, which opens the door to scepticism again. We have already urged, and we venture to think we have demonstrated, that we are provided with evident certitude, and therefore *cannot* possibly be deceived in everything.

Mr. Balfour next argues[1] with full reason and much force that science requires theism for its own completion, since "the ordered system of phenomena asks for a cause."

But he adds, somewhat naively:

"We cannot form, we will not say any adequate, but even any tolerable, idea of *the mode* in which God is related to, and acts on, the world of phenomena. . . . . *How* He created it, how He sustains it, is impossible for us to imagine."

Not only *that* is, indeed, impossible, but it is impossible for us even to conceive of[2] that "*mode*"—that "*how!*" The impossibility of imagining such Divine action save by sensuous symbols, which are not only utterly inadequate and in discord with our intellectual perceptions, is the cause of the rejection of Christian dogma by various men devoted to physics.

The idea of "Creation," for example, is accompanied by mental images in which God appears as a human figure performing various acts of manipulation. The words of Milton, and many pictorial representations handed down from mediæval times, have provided us with a number of mental images which serve merely as symbols to facilitate the apprehension of truths which no mental images whatever can truly represent. What the opponents of "special creation" really object to, is simply their own imaginations of such unimaginable divine activity, fancying that to accept the dogma of creation implies the need of believing in the fidelity of such imaginations; belief in which they absurdly attribute to those who accept that dogma.

But such difficulties meet us not only with respect to God's activity but also with respect to our own, for—as we have frequently pointed out—every act of will, of self-determination is, and must be, in the eyes of "sensists," nothing less than a miracle. Small wonder then that all "sensists" deny the existence of anything so absolutely fatal to their views. But as Mr. Balfour says:[3]

"Their denial only serves to emphasize the extreme difficulty of the problem raised by the relation of the self to phenomena. So hardly pressed are they by these difficulties that, in order to evade them, they attempt an impossible act of suicide; and be-

[1] P. 302. The italics are ours.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 39 and 40.

[3] P. 303.

cause the self refuses to figure as a phenomenon among phenomena, or complacently to fit into a purely scientific view of the world, they set about the hopeless task of suppressing it altogether."[1]

Mr. Balfour has an excellent passage, the argument of which is fatal to "monism." He says[2] of "mind" and "matter:"

"Both must perforce form elements in every adequate representation of reality. Yet the philosophic artist has still to arise who shall combine the two into a single picture, without doing serious violence to essential features, either of the one or the other. I am myself, indeed, disposed to doubt whether any conception made by the 'subjective' to the 'objective,' or by the 'objective' to the 'subjective,' short of the total destruction of one or the other, will avail to produce a harmonious scheme. And certainly no discord could be so barren, so unsatisfying, so practically impossible, as a harmony attained at such a cost. We must acquiesce, then, in the existence of an unsolved difficulty."

Mr. Balfour next refers[3] to the theistic difficulty as to the existence of evil, and declares that from the world presented to us by science, though we might conjecture a God of power or of reason, "we never could infer a God who was wholly loving and wholly just." But we have no desire for a God who should be "wholly loving" to the entire exclusion of justice; but if justice be included, we contend that the world is conceivably the work of a God of love, the truth of a future life being fully accepted. But the problem of evil is so ancient a one that its weight, which has been borne by theology for so many centuries, "is not likely now to crush it."

Miracles next claim our author's attention, and he begins by deprecating any assertion of "the uniformity of nature" in opposition to them because, apart from a philosophy which "naturalism" denies, we have no right to claim any perception with re-

---

[1] See also the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1891, p. 320, in the article, "Professing Themselves to Be Wise, They Become Fools."

[2] P. 304. In a note (on the same page) he well states certain difficulties to "Sensism" from the existence of volition. He says (1) either will acts on matter, or (2) it does not.

(1) If it does, it must be either (*a*) Free or (*b*) Determined.

If (*a*) *free*, "Sensism" is refuted; if (*b*) *determined*, it is mere *surplusage*; since on the mechanical view of the material universe, its condition at one moment is absolutely determined by its condition at the preceding moment. Therefore in such a world even a "determined" will cannot be a cause of material change.

(2) If it does not act on matter, then volition must (*a*) either be part of a psychic series accompanying a series of physiological changes (a sort of pre-established harmony), or else (*β*) "we would suppose that it is a kind of superfluous consequence of certain physiological changes [Huxleyism] produced presumably without the exhaustion of any form of energy, and having no effect whatever, either upon the material world or (presumably) upon other psychic conditions. This reduces us to automata, and automata of a kind very difficult to find proper accommodation for in a world scientifically conceived."

[3] P. 306.

spect to such "uniformity" beyond what may enable us to "anticipate the future or reconstruct the past" "without sensible insecurity or error."

But miracles are often protested against in a way which would lead us to believe that those who so protest think that we Catholics cannot hit a cricket-ball or play a game of billiards with any confidence that bat or cue will produce results corresponding to the skill with which they are handled, on account of a lurking fear that "miracle" may be fatal to the wicket-stumps or guard the entrance of each pocket.

"The real difficulties connected with theological miracles," he tells us,[1] concern (1) their evidence as wonders, and (2) their divine character.

(1) As to the amount and nature of the evidence practically adequate to convince a man of the miraculous, it varies, and must vary, according to the previous attitude of his mind. Evidently, an average man of the ninth century would be thus very differently conditioned from a man of the nineteenth. To many a "sensist" of our own day, no evidence would suffice, while to an old-fashioned Protestant no marvel recorded in the Bible would be a subject of difficulty or criticism. But it is possible that a member of a third school, as Mr. Balfour says,[2]

"May appraise the evidence alleged in favor of 'wonders due to the special action of divine power' by the light of an altogether different theory of the world and of God's action therein. He may consider religion to be as necessary an element in any adequate scheme of belief as science itself. Every event, therefore, whether wonderful or not, a belief in whose occurrence is involved in that religion; every event by whose disproof the religion would be seriously impoverished or altogether destroyed, has behind it the whole combined strength of the system to which it belongs. It is not, indeed, believed independently of external evidence any more than the more ordinary occurrences in history are believed independently of external evidence. But it does not require, as some people appear to suppose, the impossible accumulation of proof on proof, of testimony on testimony, before the presumption against it can be neutralized."

(2) He next proceeds to consider the divine character of miraculous interventions. There are, as he truly says,[3] many who reject "miracles," but will admit of what is called a "Special Providence." Others will reject this, but accept, as real, a sort of divine superintendence over the general course of history, while there are yet others who, rejecting such superintendence, "conceive that they can escape from philosophic reproach by beating out the idea yet a little thinner, and admitting that there does exist somewhere a 'power which makes for righteousness.'" Yet, as Mr. Balfour most truly says, "nothing is gained by quali-

[1] P. 313. [2] P. 314. [3] P. 316.

fying the admission with all those fanciful limitations and distinctions with which different schools of thought have seen fit to encumber it."

But he suggests a difficulty as to how a "Divine Being who is the ground and source of everything that is," can be more closely related "with one part of that which He has created than with another?"

This difficulty, however, concerns ethics as well as theology.

"For if we cannot believe in 'preferential action,' neither can we believe in the moral qualities of which 'preferential action' is the sign; and with the moral qualities of God is bound up the fate of anything which deserves to be called morality at all. . . . . For a universe in which all the power was on the side of the Creator, and all the morality on the side of creation, would be one compared with which the universe of naturalism would shine out a paradise indeed. . . . . Once assume a God, and we shall be obliged, sooner or later, to introduce harmony into our system by making obedience to His will coincident with the established rules of conduct. We cannot frame our advice to mankind on the hypothesis that to defy Omnipotence is the beginning of wisdom."

Evidently, the pantheistic conception which represents the First Cause as equally related to whatever exists or takes place, must "empty ethics of all ethical significance, and reduce virtue to a colorless acquiescence in the Appointed Order."

Curiously enough, as Mr. Balfour points out,[1] the modern doctrine of evolution really tends to bring the physicist into greater harmony with the theologian than he stood in before. Not that evolution strengthens the evidence for theism, but, theism being assumed, "evolution does, to a certain extent, harmonize in a special way with that belief in God's 'preferential action' which religion and morality alike require us to attribute to Him." For evolutionary science

"Has adopted an idea which has always been an essential part of the Christian view of the Divine economy, has given to that idea an undreamed-of extension, has applied it to the whole universe of phenomena, organic and inorganic, and has returned it again to theology, enriched, strengthened and developed. Can we, then, think of evolution in a God-created world without attributing to its author the notion of purpose slowly worked out; the striving towards something which is not, but which gradually becomes, and in the fulness of time will be? Surely not. But, if not, can it be denied that evolution—the evolution, I mean, which takes place in time, the natural evolution of science, as distinguished from the dialectical evolution of metaphysics—does involve something in the nature of that 'preferential action,' which is so difficult to understand, yet so impossible to abandon?"

This is well put, though it contains no novelty of conception—being an idea common to all Theistic evolutionists.

We now come to the consideration of the last chapter of the

[1] P. 319.

remarkable book we have been so long reviewing. The title of the sixth and last chapter is "*Suggestions towards a provisional unification.*" No more than a "provisional unification" is possible on such a "foundation" as Mr. Balfour has constructed for belief; for the depreciation and distrust of reason which pervades it must cause that "foundation" soon to crumble, and the parts erected upon it, however skilfully joined, to speedily fall asunder.

Nevertheless, a great deal that is said in this last chapter is very admirable, and we should be unjust to readers whose patience has accompanied us so far, if we did not make some considerable quotations from it. The reasons Mr. Balfour gives for the acceptance of religion, and of Christianity itself, when grounded on that solid support which is afforded by an explicit recognition of the necessary truth of the first principles of knowledge, acquire full validity and a force of persuasion which no mind, unless fatally prejudiced against them, can reasonably dispute. Mr. Balfour begins[1] by saying that belief in "a living God" not only affords no ground of quarrel between theology and science, but that it is "actually required by the latter," and, therefore, can hardly be refused to ethics, æsthetics and theology. If Theism be accepted as a general principle "applicable to the whole circuit of belief," then difficulties which "naturalism" cannot deal with will receive a practical solution.

The fundamental difficulty is the fact that, according to "sensism," all knowledge springs from what is non-rational and that non-reason is Lord of the Universe.

As to the absolute need of Theism, Mr. Balfour says:[2]

"Let the case of science be taken first, for it is a crucial one. Here, if anywhere, we might suppose ourselves independent of theology. Here, if anywhere, we might expect to be able to acquiesce without embarrassment in the negations of naturalism. But when once we have realized the scientific truth that at the root of every rational process lies an irrational one; that reason, from a scientific point of view, is itself a natural product; and that the whole material on which it works is due to causes, physical, physiological and social, which it neither creates nor controls, we shall be driven in mere self-defence to hold that, behind these non-rational forces, and above them, guiding them by slow degrees, and, as it were, with difficulty, to a rational issue, stands that Supreme Reason in whom we must thus believe, if we are to believe in anything. Here, then, we are plunged at once into the middle of theology. The belief in God, the attribution to Him of reason, and of what I have called 'preferential action' in relation to the world which He has created, all seem forced upon us by the single assumption that science is not an illusion, and that, with the rest of its teaching, we must accept what it has to say to us about itself as a natural product. At no smaller cost can we reconcile the origins of science with its pretensions, or relieve ourselves of the embarrassments in which we are involved by a naturalistic theory of Nature."

But if Theism turns out to be ultimately implied in our percep-

[1] P. 321. [2] P. 322.

tions of merely physical phenomena, it is certainly no less implied by our ethical intuitions, which intuitions sensism would similarly trace back to a non-ethical and irrational origin. Again, if we assign a providential origin to "the long and complex train of events which have resulted in the recognition of the moral law," we must surely assign it to those religious evolutions without which a mere catalogue of precepts would have little practical efficiency.

"If, deserting naturalism, we regard the evolutionary process issuing in these ethical results as an instrument for carrying out a Divine purpose, the natural history of the higher sentiments is seen under a wholly different light. They may be due, doubtless they are in part due, to the same selective mechanism which produces the most cruel and the most disgusting of Nature's contrivances for protecting the species of some loathsome parasite. Between the two cases science [physical] cannot and naturalism will not draw any valid distinction. But here theology steps in, and by the conception of design revolutionizes our point of view. The most unlovely germ of instinct or of appetite to which we trace back the origin of all that is most noble and of good report, no longer throws discredit upon its developed offshoots. Rather is it consecrated by them. For if, in the region of causation, it is wholly by the earlier stages that the later are determined, in the region of design it is only through the later stages that the earlier can be understood."[1]

But if the assumption of theism thus aids physical science and gives a substantial and influential character to ethical precepts, it has a bearing not less significant on our conception of æsthetics.

If it does not suffice to give beauty an objectivity as obvious as that of number or of shape, we are not thereby precluded, as our author says,[2]

"From referring our feeling of it to God, nor from supposing that, in the thrill of some deep emotion, we have for an instant caught a far-off reflection of Divine beauty. This is, indeed, my faith; and in it the differences of taste which divide mankind lose all their harshness. For we may liken ourselves to the members of some endless procession winding along the borders of a sunlit lake. Towards each individual there will shine along its surface a moving lane of splendor, where the ripples catch and deflect the light in his direction, while on either hand the waters, which to his neighbor's eyes are brilliant in the sun, for him lie dull and undistinguished. So may all possess a like enjoyment of loveliness. So do all owe it to one unchanging source. And if there be an endless variety in the immediate objects from which we generally derive it, I know not, after all, that this should furnish any matter for regret."

The view here advocated, if applicable to science, ethics and æsthetics, must be *à fortiori* applicable to religion. "For here, at

---

[1] Pp. 324 and 325. We long ago urged that since, as Aristotle teaches, the "essence of a thing" is what it *is* to be—*i.e.*, to become—it is easy to exaggerate the importance of embryology, which has in fact been much exaggerated in biological science, though, of course, its value and importance in revealing collateral relationships is unquestionable.

[2] P. 326.

least, might be expected preferential Divine intervention, supposing such intervention to be anywhere possible."

Mr. Balfour then passes on to consider what he deems may be thought an exception, namely, *natural religion.* This, he says, is defined "as the religion to which unassisted reason may attain in contrast to that which can be reached only by revelation. He objects to this distinction because he does not "believe that, strictly speaking, there is any such thing as 'unassisted reason.'" In this he writes, without knowing it, like a Catholic. As to our mere reason we affirm "*signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine!*" Nor can "Natural *Theology*," the Theology "*de Deo Uno*," be attained without such Divine assistance, which is refused to no man.

But Mr. Balfour makes far too little of the distinction between "Natural" and "Revealed" religion, and he uses the term "inspiration" in a misleading way—not, however, through any negligence of his, but simply through his want of acquaintance with theological terminology, as he very modestly avows.[1] He also uses[2] quite loosely the distinction between the "natural"[3] and the "supernatural," saying it neither coincides "with that between natural and spiritual, nor with that between 'preferential action' and 'non-preferential,' nor with that between 'phenomenal' and 'noumenal.' It is, perhaps, *less important than is sometimes supposed*," and, in this connection, "a burden, not an aid, to religious speculation."

Now the nature of a thing is the same, objectively, as its *essence* considered as the fundamental principle, or source, of all its activity. All the powers that flow from the essence of a thing, *as such*, are *natural* powers. Its other (or adventitious) powers are (1) *artificial*, or (2) *supernatural.*

(1) "Artificial" powers are those which supplement and perfect the natural activities, so helping them to fulfil their essential requirements.

(2) "Supernatural" powers go beyond the requirements, or rather the exigencies, of the essence.

Thus an intuitive vision of God is beyond the exigencies of any creature, and the activities or qualities communicated to a creature with a view to this end, constitute "*the supernatural.*"

The Scotists held, against the Thomists, that every self-conscious being has a *natural inclination* towards the perfect and immediate vision and fruition of the Infinite. But both schools agree in say-

---

[1] At p. 332 he says with respect to his use of the word "inspiration:" "It is a question of theological phraseology, on which I am not competent to pronounce."

[2] P. 328. The italics are ours.

[3] It is perhaps needless to remind our readers that the "*Nature*" of a thing, in the metaphysical sense, is the same.

ing that the self-conscious being does not demand ("*exigere*") it as the necessary and connatural end of its essence.

According to such teaching, then, Mr. Balfour does well in seeking to show that Divine concurrence accompanies our honest struggles after truths, whether scientific, ethical, æsthetic or religious. He is also right in affirming that if, according to scientific teaching, the higher forms of each religion (Revelation apart) are largely produced by the lower, the lower forms, on the other hand, are only to be explained by the higher. It is a fact also, even with regard to revealed religion as manifested in the Church, that "the final product counts among its causes a vast multitude of physiological, psychological, political and social antecedents"—its various "human elements."

Such active and helpful Divine concurrence, which Mr. Balfour terms "inspiration,"[1] is, he rightly says,[2]

"Limited to no age, to no country, to no people. . . . . Its workings are to be traced not merely in the later development of beliefs, but far back among their unhonored beginnings. . . . . Are we to find a full measure of 'inspiration' in the highest utterances of Hebrew prophet or psalmist, and to suppose that the primitive religious conceptions common to the Semitic race had in them no touch of the Divine?"

The passage continues on, following in the footsteps of Cardinal Newman, from whose magnificent passage on this subject we have already quoted.

But Mr. Balfour recognizes[3] the objection many persons may feel to the placing in one category "the transcendant intuitions of prophet or apostle and the stammering utterances of earlier faiths, clouded as these are by human ignorance and marred by human sin." We have, however, already called attention to the need of making the most profound distinction between revelation and any non-revealed form of religion.

Mr. Balfour also declares[4] it to be beyond dispute that if we seek in religion not merely a *cause*, but also a *reason*—"a Divinely ordered ground" for believing—we must possess

"Some means of marking off those examples of its operation which rightfully command our full intellectual allegiance from those which are no more than evidences of an influence towards the truth working out its purpose slowly through the ages."

He declares,[5] however, that the deliverances of no organization,

---

[1] The word "inspiration" has, as our readers know, a definite signification, and Mr. Balfour would be one of the last to object to its being employed only in its accepted, authoritative meaning.

Inspiration always implies some *impulsion* which mere "assistance" does not. There are, we believe, three degrees of inspiration: (1) *revelation*; (2) *illumination*, and (3) mere *intensification* of knowledge which is always possessed.

[2] P. 330. [3] P. 332. [4] P. 333. [5] P. 334.

and of no individual, can constitute a reason as well as a cause of belief, because it is always possible to ask whence such claimants derive their credentials.

But, when the reasonableness of their claims is established, they may perfectly well be a "reason" as well as a "cause" for credence. For mere human testimony, adequately collected and tested, can constitute a fully adequate *reason* for belief as well as be the *cause* of it.

So far Mr. Balfour's main effort has been to show that science, ethics, æsthetics and religious beliefs form a more coherent and satisfactory whole if we consider them in a theistic setting, than if we consider them in a naturalistic one. He next, and finally, turns[1] to consider whether they 'are more' coherent and satisfactory if considered in a Christian setting than in a merely theistic one?

It is very satisfactory that he puts forward as an example of Christian doctrine, the dogma of the Incarnation and boldly grapples with its asserted difficulties. He says:

"It is always assumed by those who do not accept the doctrine of the Incarnation, and it is not uncommonly conceded by those who do, that it constitutes an additional burden upon faith, a new stumbling-block to reason. And many who are prepared to accommodate their beliefs to the requirements of 'Natural Religion' shrink from the difficulties and perplexities in which this central mystery of revealed religion threatens to involve them. But what are these difficulties? Clearly they are not scientific. We are here altogether outside the region where scientific ideas possess any worth, or scientific categories claim any authority. It may be a realm of shadows, of empty dreams and vain speculations. But whether it be this, or whether it be the abiding place of the highest Reality, it evidently must be explored by methods other than those provided for us by the accepted canons of experimental research."

He then reminds his readers that they each and all have in themselves a mystery which defies every attempt at elucidation, namely, the living body with its life, material and mental, which they each and all possess.

"If, then," he adds, "we cannot devise formulæ which shall elucidate the familiar mystery of our daily existence, we need neither be surprised nor embarrassed if the unique mystery of the Christian faith refuses to lend itself to inductive treatment."

But, he continues, opponents may say that if the mystery itself is beyond scientific criticism, the same cannot be alleged of the historical evidence on which it, at least partly, rests. No immunity can be extended to *that*, and as it must ultimately rest on human testimony, that at least can be judged by the usual tests.

Nevertheless he replies:[2]

---

[1] P. 335.

[2] Pp. 336, 337.

"The question is not so simple as those who make use of arguments like these would have us suppose. 'Historical method' has its limitations."

It is, of course, quite true that our estimate of the historical value of a written statement depends on what we may think (1) of his veracity, (2) his competence, and (3) the probability of the facts he recounts. It is also true that any one's estimate as to probability of certain events will depend upon the philosophy he has adopted.

Speaking, in this connection, of the "destructive schools of New Testament criticism," he says:[1]

"Starting from a philosophy which forbade them to accept much of the substance of the Gospel narrative, they very properly set to work to devise a variety of hypotheses which would account for the fact that the narrative, with all its peculiarities, was nevertheless there. Of these hypotheses there are many, and some of them have occasioned an admirable display of erudite ingenuity fruitful of instruction from every point of view and for all time. But it is a great, though common, error to describe these learned efforts as examples of the unbiased application of historic methods to historic documents. It would be more correct to say that they are endeavors *by the instituted employment of an elaborate critical apparatus, to force the testimony of existing records into conformity with theories on the truth or falsity of which it is for philosophy, not history, to pronounce.*

What, then, he asks, should be the "mood of expectation," the "temper of mind" with which we ought to consider "the extent of historic evidence for the Christian story?" How should our philosophy (our "general theory of things") affect our estimate of its antecedent probability? The answer to this question, he replies, must depend on our estimate of "the ethical import" of Christianity, "which must again depend on the degree to which it ministers to our ethical needs."

Ethics, absolutely speaking, are so far independent of theology that they do not depend upon the will of God, but upon His Essence. They are also independent of consequences. "Thou shalt do no murder, thou shalt not commit adultery," would be valid and categorically imperative even if death were followed by annihilation. But the influence of natural religion, and, still more, of revelation, upon ethical precepts is enormous. As Mr. Balfour says:[2]

"An assortment of 'categorical imperatives,' however authoritative and complete, supplies but a meagre outfit wherewith to meet the storms and stresses of actual experience. If we are to possess a practical system, which shall not merely tell men what they ought to do, but assist them to do it."

As to the imperfection wherewith our ethical needs can be satisfied without the aid of "theological sanctions," he observes:[3]

[1] P. 338. The italics are ours. [2] P. 339. [3] P. 340.

"The commonly recognized ethical need is for harmony between the interests of the individual and those of the community. In a rude and limited fashion, and for a very narrow circle of ethical commands, this is deliberately provided by the prison and the scaffold and the whole machinery of the criminal law. It is provided, with less deliberation, but with greater delicacy of adjustment and over a wider area of duty, by the operation of public opinion. But it can be provided, with any approach to theoretical perfection, only by a future life."

He then reminds his readers that the reality of the moral law implies the reality of a future existence, and, though professing himself unable to employ this argument of Kant, he yet advances a very analagous one. Mr. Balfour says:[1]

"If the reality of scientific and of ethical knowledge forces us to assume the existence of a rational and moral Deity, by whose preferential assistance they have gradually come into existence, must we not suppose that the Power which has thus produced in man the knowledge of right and wrong, and has added to it the faculty of creating ethical ideals, must have provided some satisfaction for the ethical needs which the historical development of the spiritual life has gradually called into existence?"

But this is an argument, as its author avows, which evidently demands much caution in its employment. It would, of course, be quite unwarrantable to reason *à priori* from general notions about the working of Divine Providence, to the reality of certain historical events; but he adds:

"My contention is of a much humbler kind. I confine myself to asking whether, in a universe which, by hypothesis, is under moral governance, there is not a presumption in favor of facts or events which minister, if true, to our highest moral demands? and whether such a presumption, if it exists, is not sufficient to neutralize the counter-presumption which has uncritically governed so much of the criticism directed in recent times against the historic claims of Christianity? For my own part, I cannot doubt that both these questions should be answered in the affirmative; and if the reader will consider the variety of ways by which Christianity is, in fact, fitted effectually to minister to our ethical needs, I find it hard to believe that he will arrive at any different conclusion."

In the fifth and last section of this last chapter, Mr. Balfour proceeds to consider some[2] of the needs of mankind to which Christianity thus ministers, making use of examples intended to show that some of these needs increase with the growth of knowledge and the progress of science. Thus Christianity, he contends, is no mere temporary religious improvement appropriate only to a passed age, but "a development of theism now more necessary than ever."

As he truly observes, there are not a few persons (surely *most* unreasonable persons) whom the above statement will astonish,

[1] P. 342.

[2] P. 393. He says he cannot treat the matter completely, nor for his purpose is such treatment necessary.

because in them the increased knowledge we now have of the magnitude and complexity of the material world, has given rise to a feeling of repulsion against Christianity. Those who know how brief and imperceptible " is the impress made by organic life in general, and by human life in particular, upon the mighty forces which surround them, find it hard to believe that on so small an occasion this petty satellite of no very important sun has been chosen as an event so solitary and so stupendous " as the Incarnation.

But the Church has never defined that it is " solitary." There is no condemnation either of the opinion that God has been incarnate in many worlds, or that he is ever incarnate in one or more of them. But Mr. Balfour well points out that the above-stated prejudice is due to the absurdity of supposing that God values His rational creatures according to " the number of square miles they inhabit or the foot-pounds of energy they are capable of developing." It is a prejudice like that which leads Mr. Spencer to speak, as it were, with bated breath, lost in awe and wonder, at the very nnmerous and complex vibrations he supposes atoms to perform—surely a most ridiculous form of hypertrophied anthropomorphism!

But, as Mr. Balfour most truly says, " we are not creatures of pure reason," and (as Cardinal Newman fully recognized) the progress of scientific knowledge does make it more difficult for the *imagination* of the many (though not truly for the *intellect* of any) to receive and acquiesce in even natural theology, and this makes a definite and authoritative religion like Christianity more and more necessary.

Mr. Balfour puts forward this thought excellently well:[1] He says:

" We search out God with eyes grown old in studying Nature . . . . and imaginations glutted with material infinities. . . . The overwhelming force and regularity of the great natural movements dull the sharp impressions of an ever-present Personality. . . . He is hidden, not revealed, in the multitude of phenomena, and as our knowledge of phenomena increases, He retreats out of all realized connection with us farther and yet farther into the illimitable unknown.

" Then it is that, through the aid of Christian doctrine, we are saved from the distorting influences of our own discoveries. The Incarnation throws the whole scheme of things, as we are too easily apt to represent it to ourselves, into a different and far truer proportion. It abruptly changes the whole scale on which we might be disposed to measure the magnitudes of the universe. What we should otherwise think great we now perceive to be relatively small. What we should otherwise think trifling, we now know to be immeasurably important. And the change is not only morally needed, but is philosophically justified. Speculation by itself should be sufficient to convince us that, in the sight of a righteous God, material grandeur and moral excellence are incommensurable quantities, and that an infinite accumulation of the one

[1] P. 346.

cannot compensate for the smallest diminution of the other. Yet I know not whether, as a theistic speculation, this truth could effectually maintain itself against the brute pressure of external nature. In the world looked at by the light of simple theism, the evidences of God's material power lie about us on every side, daily added to by science, universal, overwhelming. The evidence of His moral interest have to be anxiously extracted, grain by grain, through the speculative analysis of our moral natures. Mankind, however, are not given to speculative analysis,and if it is desirable that they should be enabled to obtain an imaginative grasp of this great truth, if they need to have brought home to them that, in the sight of God, the stability of the heavens is of less importance than the moral growth of a human spirit, I know not how this end could be more completely attained than by the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation."

The great importance of the Christian revelation as counteracting a specially modern tendency to materialism is next brought forward.

It is indeed true that the most modern refinements of physiology no more constitute arguments against the doctrine of the immortality of the soul than did the results brought about by clubs or spears amongst early races of mankind. It was also known and taught by the Scholastics that no intellectual act could take place in us without a play of the imagination, and that no play of the imagination could take place save by the aid of our material organism. Still, the universally diffused belief in apparitions and in manipulations of intelligence apart from the body, was a great aid to the belief in man's spiritual immortality which has now greatly disappeared, while physical science through many channels and with great force tends to inculcate the all importance of the body. Now as Mr. Balfour most justly says:[1]

"Of all creeds, materialism is the one which, looked at from the inside—from the point of view of knowledge and the knowing self—is least capable of being philosophically defended or even coherently stated."

Nevertheless, the body is always with us, and the hints of science that the conscious *ego* (*i.e.*, our mind) is but its passing product, are accentuated by many social phenomena as they appear and before they are philosophically analyzed. Our body is a most fundamental and all-pervading fact for us, and one which seems to lend itself "to every theory destructive of high endeavor."

Now what is needed under these circumstances is, as Mr. Balfour contends:

"Not abstract speculation or negative dialectic. . . . . What we need is something that shall appeal to men of flesh and blood, struggling with the temptations and discouragements which flesh and blood is heir to." . . . . But "what support does the belief in a Deity ineffably remote from all human conditions bring to men thus hesitating whether they are to count themselves as beasts that perish or among the Sons

[1] P. 349.

of God? What bridge can be found to span the immeasurable gulf which separates Infinite Spirit from creatures who seem little more than physiological accidents? What faith is there other than the Incarnation, which will enable us to realize that, however far apart, they are not hopelessly divided?"

As we have said, again and again, Mr. Balfour far too much undervalues the proofs for, and the value of, "Natural Theology." Nevertheless, it is most true that it is no easy task to deduce from it a satisfactory code of ethical precepts which shall not only commend themselves to the unprejudiced reason, but which shall also act persuasively on those to whom such precepts are unwelcome. The extreme dimness and indistinctness to mortal vision of the God inferentially made known, must cause natural religion to be a sadly inefficient one with respect to the overwhelming majority of men. It is impossible, therefore, to overstate the priceless value to mankind of the Christian Revelation, which authoritatively reaffirms the truths of natural religion, and of all those dogmas which the Church has successively defined. Therefore, what Mr. Balfour says about natural religion, though we think it *absolutely* unjust, is *relatively* valuable and true. The precepts of Christianity are so definite they cannot, like those of theism, be evaded by disputation, they can but be disobeyed; while a God who has not disdained to take to Himself the nature of man and of man for us crucified, can by no means be too dim or indistinct not only for adoration, but also for sympathy and love.

The next topic to which Mr. Balfour turns in considering the practical value of Christianity to human need, is the great insoluble problem of evil. This he declares[1] to be "much less oppressive under the Christian than under any simpler form of theism."

The speculative philosophical answers to the problem are (1) the necessary incomprehensibility to us of the plan of the universe, and (2) that God's omnipotence may be limited by "objective contradictions"[2] in ways we cannot here and now apprehend.

Mr. Balfour also contends (as he has before contended) that since "ethics cannot permanently flourish side by side with a creed which represents God as indifferent to pain and sin," the conclusions which seem to follow from the coexistence of omnipotence and evil cannot really do so, or morality must be excluded from his "provisional philosophy." Yet, as he himself avows, such a reply is too abstract to be of practical utility even to a suffering philosopher.

He asks,[3] and completes his task in the asking:

[1] P. 351.

[2] The term we have before used for this purpose in our book *On Truth*.

[3] P. 353.

"Of what use is it to those who, under the stress of sorrow, are permitting themselves to doubt the goodness of God, that such doubts must inevitably tend to wither virtue at the root? No such conclusion will frighten them. They have already almost reached it. Of what worth, they cry, is virtue in a world where suffering like theirs fall alike on the just and unjust? For themselves, they know only that they are solitary and abandoned; victims of a power too strong for them to control, too callous for them to soften, too far off for them to reach, deaf to supplication, blind to pain. Tell them, with certain theologians, that their misfortunes are explained and justified by an hereditary taint; tell them, with certain philosophers, that, could they understand the world in its completeness, their agony would show itself an element necessary to the harmony of the whole, and they would think you are mocking them. Whatever be the worth of speculations like these, it is not in the moments when they are most required that they come effectually to our rescue. What is needed is such a living faith in God's relation to man as shall leave no place for that helpless resentment against the appointed order so apt to rise within us at the sight of undeserved pain. And this faith is possessed by those who vividly realize the Christian form of theism. For they worship One who is no remote contriver of a universe to whose ills He is indifferent. If they suffer, did He not on their account suffer also? If suffering falls not always on the most guilty, was He not innocent? Shall they cry aloud that the world is ill-designed for their convenience, when He for their sakes subjected Himself to its conditions? It is true that beliefs like these do not in any narrow sense resolve our doubts nor provide us with explanations. But they give us something better than many explanations. For they minister, or rather the reality behind them ministers, to one of our deepest ethical needs; to a need which, far from showing signs of diminution, seems to grow with the growth of civilization, and to touch us even more keenly as the hardness of an earlier time dissolves away."

Most true and most valuable are these reflections on the deep response made by Christianity to human needs—by the doctrine of the Incarnation and the sacrifice of the Cross.

"*O crux ave! spes unica!*"

as the Church sings.

But surely if we may apply, as we certainly may, such considerations to the support of Christianity in general, they are infinitely more applicable to the support of the Catholic Church.

The Incarnation is indeed the alpha and omega of Christianity, but the transubstantiated eucharistic presence is its infinitely gracious continuation, ministering with unspeakable efficacy to the spiritual needs of all. Well may we ask who has God so near as we have?

In a Catholic church the happy penitent can adore his Risen Lord then and there actually present to him, while every sinner can seek for mercy prostrate at those Divine feet which still bear the glorious wounds whence issued the precious blood to cleanse his polluted soul and to redeem the world.

What worship was ever so glorious, so soul-inspiring and majestic as High Mass celebrated with all the pomp of Easter or of Whitsuntide?

What worship was ever more sweet and soul-satisfying than a

Low Mass said before dawn at some remote and quiet altar where the worshipper, in silence, is alone with God and God's sacerdotal minister?

Infinite was the gain Christianity brought us in showing us God manifest in the flesh—one who, though God, is still our elder brother. Yet it has been a further gain to be enabled to venerate one at once *altogether human*, yet stainless, the Virgin Mother, an advocate, but not, like her Divine Son, a judge.

And how further fitted to respond to human needs has been the peopling of heaven with saints, differing as the stars do in glory and in their correspondence with every variety of the suppliants who seek their aid?

But a response to human need which (for ages past of inestimable value) will become more and more valuable and necessary with the increased relaxation of morals, is the Church's doctrine of holy matrimony—the indissoluble nature of the tie, its inculcation of restraint upon our lower nature and the cultivation of everything highest, noblest, sweetest and most enduring in human love, which through it may become so transfigured as to become worthy of eternity and a heavenly home.

But to pursue these considerations further would perhaps be out of place on our part, though they have been irresistibly suggested to us by Mr. Balfour's comments on our higher needs.

With the passage last cited his book ends, save for a few graceful sentences of apology and a restatement of his general aim. It is unquestionable that he has succeeded in showing the incoherence and irrationality of sensism, and though we deem him unjust to (because he seems not to have sufficiently, if at all, considered it) Catholic philosophy, it is most true, as he says,[1] that no system can be adequate which does not satisfy our ethical needs.

"Any system which, when worked out to its legitimate issues, fails to effect this object can afford no permanent habitation for the spirit of man."

How far he has succeeded in enforcing, illustrating and applying his principles he leaves, he says, for others to determine, and he ends by repeating his conviction "that it is not explanations which survive, but the things which are explained; not theories, but the things about which we theorize, and that, therefore, no failure on my part can imperil the great truths, be they religious, ethical or scientific, whose interdependence I have endeavored to establish."

We have now completed our task, save that it remains for us to write a few concluding words to reaffirm our judgment of the work as a whole, now that our readers are in a position to judge our

[1] P. 356.

judgment by means of the copious extracts we have thought it well to put before them.

We are sure they will agree with us in deeming the book the work of an exceptionally gifted mind, written with distinguished ability, with abundant humor, and much refined, but ever-courteous, irony, and that it is a most zealous defence of religion, and one as satisfactory as its author's standpoint can possibly allow it to be. But, as we think has been clearly shown in the second part of our review,[1] Mr. Balfour himself belongs, to a considerable extent, to that very school of thought he attacks. It is true that he has succeeded in demonstrating in a masterly manner the absurdity of "naturalism" or "sensism," and has proved it to be baseless, incoherent and self-contradictory, but unfortunately, as we have seen, the foundations he provides for the temple of religion are quite unsatisfactory. That no reasoning can be satisfactory which is not based on self-evident truth is surely obvious. Unless we know objective as well as subjective truths, we must remain immersed in a scepticism which amounts to mental paralysis or imprisoned in the ceaseless and hopeless solitary confinement of Fichte's *Solipsism.* Despairing of knowledge and with a profound sentiment of distrust in reason, Mr. Balfour seizes, by an act of natural faith, upon the idea of an infinite, central source of all goodness, truth and beauty, the presupposition of which harmonizes the discords he meets with on all sides and removes the most distressing of his difficulties and the greatest impediments to right. As we have seen, a great deal that he has urged in his last chapters is admirable, but none the less the fatal flaws at the basis of his reasoning remain and vitiate the consequences deduced by him. We can never build theology on a basis of scepticism. Mr. Balfour "believes" that reason is a gift of God, but how, without trusting reason, can he reasonably with certainty affirm that it is His gift?

Only such a philosophy as Mr. Balfour has avowed he has not to give, can serve as an efficient basis for theology. In depreciating reason he over-exalts authority, which nevertheless truly is not only a beneficent guide, but an indispensable instrument of human progress. Yet the "authority" of Mr. Balfour is fatally like the "custom" of Hume.

But Catholic philosophy never allows that reason appeals or should make its final appeal to "custom," "instinct," or even to the authority of the Church herself. This distrust of reason, on Mr. Balfour's part, and his frequent confusion between it and ratiocination, makes him amazingly unjust to the claims of "Natural Theology," which he confounds with "Naturalism" itself.

[1] See the AMERICAN CATH. QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1896.

But, unlike that bastard philosophy, it appeals not to *sense*, but to *intellect*, not to *phenomena*, but to *noumena*—to necessary and universal first principles and to our intuitions of our own activity and passivity, and of the extended world about us. Thence, without the need of authority or church, Natural Theology validly deduces the necessary existence of a personal God, who is a punisher of evil-doers and the rewarder in a future life of those who follow faithfully their own ethical intuitions. Reason, and no non-rational impulse, brings us to this great result, and to the threshold of a longed for and rationally-anticipated revelation, which could not be rationally accepted by us if our reason were not to be trusted in what it declares evidently true, objectively as well as subjectively.

Its declaration puts forever to flight that nightmare which haunts the mind of Mr. Balfour, that reason can itself be traced back to non-rational causes that have elicited it by the action of "natural selection," which then might be equally evoked to account for religious convictions responding to human needs. The satisfaction of such needs must be one effect of true religion, and the perfect and abundant way in which they are satisfied by Catholicity is a most powerful argument in support of its truth. But it is not merely feelings and elevated sentiments which are thus assuaged; but the intellect is thereby abundantly satisfied.

Mr. Balfour, unhappily for himself, does not see this, but is hampered on every side by his doubt and distrust of human faculty, a legacy doubtless of that profoundly evil philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, whose doctrine of "the relativity of knowledge" had so much to do with perverting the very distinguished mental powers of the late Professor Huxley.

But, as we said at the outset of our review, the very fact that Mr. Balfour belongs to the sceptical school, at present so popular, and that there is so much affinity between his own system and that of his opponents, tends to make it specially persuasive and influential in our own day.

Its influence, also, must be altogether for good with those who are devoid of any sound philosophical system, in whose eyes, therefore, fitting response to felt needs may well be all important. He offers them a wide scheme, which, though founded in the last resort, as he avows, upon our needs, yet has, above all, regard to our highest requirements—those of morality and religion. Nevertheless, we think that those readers who have had the patience to follow us through the long course we have felt it necessary to pursue, will now clearly perceive how imperatively Mr. Balfour's system requires to be supplemented, supported and corrected by the fundamental truths of Catholic philosophy.

St. George Mivart.

THE FICTION OF CORPORATE REUNION.

IT is perfectly natural that Anglican fallacies about "Reunion" should be best apprehended by English Catholics. They only who have lived in England all their lives, who have followed the vicissitudes of Anglicanism, and who know the mental habits of English Protestants, can accurately value the shifting attitudes of a conscience which has been trammeled from childhood by Protestant prejudice. For this reason it seems a pity that French Catholics, who know little or nothing of the Anglican mind, should come forward as teachers or dictators on the deeply vexed question of "Reunion." The Abbé Portal has no doubt meant amiably in his conciliating attitude towards the Ritualists, but he does not know the scope of their misapprehension. In the same way the writers in the "Revue Anglo-Romaine"—a review which is now in its thirty-sixth number—do not see that by obscuring the duty of submission they are indefinitely postponing Reunion. The "case" for Reunion stands thus: The Abbé Portal is aware, though he keeps the fact in the background, that Reunion demands, primarily, the recognition of the Papacy as a divinely appointed institution; whereas Lord Halifax, and most of his brother Ritualists, insist on the recognition of the validity of Anglicanism, ecclesiastically, authoritatively, doctrinally. The two claims are not only irreconcilable, they are hopelessly opposed and antagonistic. To put the case differently, the Catholic Church says: If you would come inside the Church, you must anathematize your schism and all your heresies, and must submit with all your heart to the Holy See in doctrine, devotion and practice; whereas the Ritualists say we will participate in Catholic Sacraments, and consent to a fraternal intercommunion, on condition that we retain our present formularies and beliefs and whatever habits we esteem to be orthodox. "Corporate Reunion" on such terms as the Ritualists' would be as much a mockery of truth as of sincerity. It would be indeed a much worse form of error than the insisting on being faithful to private convictions; for to be "in good faith," even in error, is a much better state of mind than to assert that truth and error are convertible.

The advocates of Corporate Reunion are fond of appealing to a memorable precedent, which they conceive to be in some respects parallel. In the time of Queen Mary there was Corporate Reconciliation; why should there not be in these days? It was in the year 1554 that, at Westminster Palace, there was a public,

a national reconciliation of all England to the Catholic Faith; and it is urged that the reconciliation, while corporate in modern sense, was nevertheless grounded on the principle of "give and take," many concessions of vast import being made to "Anglicans," even to the extent of the recognition of schismatical bishops and of new dioceses created by schismatics. Now here we have a grave misapprehension. In every case where the Papal Legate made concessions, there was a previous grant of absolution to penitent clergy who had confessed to the crime of their past schism, so that in no single instance was installation or promotion permitted by the Catholic authority without full recantation or disavowal and without sacramental absolution. At this point, however, we have to allude to a difficulty which is obscured by not a few controversialists. In the early days of Queen Mary there was an insuperable impediment to the harmonizing of the spiritual and the temporal, parliament not being summoned and the queen not being crowned, and the statute-law remaining consequently in full force. Thus Mary had to be called "the Supreme Head of the Church," a title of which she said to Cardinal Pole's envoy: "I will not have it, even though by accepting it I could gain three other kingdoms equal to those I possess"; but she could not prevent those who drew up her writs from obeying a law which was not repealed. In regard to the six bishops-elect, who were consecrated before the reconciliation, we know that they were absolved *in foro externo*, their proxy going humbly upon his knees, confessing heartfelt sorrow and repentance, and utterly abjuring their acts of schism and other errors, in which spirit they were required to go to confession to a Catholic confessor and fulfil the salutary penance which should be given. And so, too, the members of both Houses of Parliament went on their knees, and did "declare themselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this matter against the Apostolic See." Contrast such a spirit as this with the spirit of most modern Ritualists. And that we may say one word more as to the "concessions made by Rome," be it remembered that no concession as to doctrine was ever either granted or asked for. The ratification of newly created dioceses, and of judicial sentences schismatically pronounced, was so far from being a "concession" as to their validity that the Legate decreed that "all such things attempted in any way that was null during the aforesaid schism should receive the vigor of the apostolic sanction, so that they should be considered by all to have been made, *not* by the preceding temerity, but by that authority which he then gave unto them." The concessions, therefore, were not admissions of validity; on the contrary, they were assertions of invalidity.

While on this point of the Marian Reconciliation, it is almost a platitute to remark that, the whole nation being traditionally Catholic, there could be little need of individual conversions. We may say confidently that five-sixths of the adult population were still profoundly Catholic at heart. Excepting only those who had benefited by Henry VIII.'s spoliation of church property, the nation abhorred the innovations, so that, as Mr. Froude tells us, in the last year of Edward VI. there was what might be called a reign of terror, "the prisons being full to overflowing with Catholic recusants who would not relinquish the Mass." One of the Protestant missionaries to Ireland thus describes the enthusiasm with which the return to the old faith was welcomed in the Cathedral of Killarney: "They rang all the bells in that cathedral; they (the clergy) flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, censers and crosses; they mustered forth most gorgeously all the town over, with *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis* and the rest of the Latin Litany." Now, it is obvious that a Reconciliation in those days and a Reconciliation in a three-centuried Protestant England must be very different processes indeed. If we put together what we may call the party of Lord Halifax and the more advanced of the members of the Church Union, and even wish to believe in the ardent aspirations of the majority of the Ritualist laity, we still count only a small minority of English Protestants who could be expected to rejoice in "Reunion." Under Edward VI. it was by the sheer strength of the executive that royal injunctions were enforced against Catholics; in these days royal injunctions against Protestants would meet even with more strenuous opposition. What the nation now wants is conversion—a very different thing from Reconciliation. And if we are to accept the leading organs of the various parties as indicating the bent of the national will, there seems to be a restless desire for compromise, but very little repentance for schism.

II.

It is in regard to the disposition of the English people, as demonstrated by their proposed terms of reconciliation, that the Abbé Portal has been seriously misled, trusting rather to his charity than to his knowledge. We should say, first, that the popular use of the word Reunion shows how completely the whole subject is misapprehended. There cannot be Reunion where there never was Union; and it is certain that between the new Protestant religion—first invented by Henry VIII., and subsequently developed by Elizabeth—and the religion of the Catholic Roman

Church, there never was, never could be, real union. The two religions were opposed on first principles, as to authority, worship, and devotion; nor was it ever possible to speak of them as being united, any more than of a negative as being identical with a positive, or of *nego* and *credo* as being sympathetic. Let us, then, discard the word Reunion, and use a much truer word, Reconciliation. Now the Abbé Portal, and the "Revue Anglo-Romaine," in their earnest longing to bring about Reconciliation, do not like to insist on the hard, stubborn fact that what is called the Church of England is a sect. It is not a Church nor an integral part of the Church, but a purely political organization. It follows, therefore, that each individual Anglican is necessarily in schism and in heresy. And this being so, it is idle to talk of a "corporate" reconciliation, as if the fact of a multitude of dissidents agreeing to "shake hands" with the Catholic Church could in the slightest degree undo their schism and their heresy. They would all remain precisely what they were before, Protestants so far as they chose to be Protestants, and Catholic in their own sense of Catholicity. Reconciliation would mean, I will not obey you. Submission would mean, I do not believe in you. The only practical outcome of such a fictitious fraternization would be that truth and error would have "shaken hands" as good friends on the very ground that no one could know what was the truth.

"Conversion" to the Church is, in reality, the exact opposite of this fiction of "corporate reunion." It means the accepting whatever the Church teaches, and the abhorring whatever she condemns. And the grace of God alone can give to each individual soul the full light which is necessary for conversion. "The gift of faith" is not given in its fulness until after the receiving of the divine sacraments—a gift which so purifies the intellect that it apprehends the necessary truth of Catholic teaching; but the grace to apprehend the primary duty of submitting to the divine authority of the Church will be given to every soul who asks for it; so that it must be always a man's own fault if he goes on worshipping his own opinions, instead of asking God to enlighten him. Now who does not see that a "corporate conversion" is a sort of contradiction in terms? Certainly, God could, if He willed, give the grace of conversion at the same moment to a whole nation, or to a whole Protestant sect; but this is not His ordinary way. Ordinarily, He acts separately on each soul, in His own time, by special calling; and each soul is responsible for himself. "Corporate" conversion would shirk personal responsibility; would shift the burden on to the shoulders of a whole community; whereas, personal conversion is in the order of Divine Providence, and consistent with all we know of the Divine ways. The

Abbé Portal, in his desire to smooth over the thorny and troublous path of conversion, seems to shrink from the *suffering* which it involves, as though the sufferings were not the price to be paid. As in the early pagan times, the ordinary price of conversion was martyrdom, imprisonment, or at least ostracism, so, in our own day, there is no buying the pearl of great price without being willing to sell all that we possess. Imagine that the same counsel which has been approved by the Abbé Portal, in recommending a "corporate" conversion, had been given to the first converts to Christianity: "Do not suffer martyrdom, but wait till imperial prejudice shall have given way to more kindly amenity, and then you can all become Christians together, without risking the torture or the lion's mouth." This was not the counsel of the Apostles or their disciples, who insisted on individual sacrifice, and left "corporateness" to take care of itself. As Cardinal Vaughan has happily expressed it, with that straightness and ingenuousness which may be said to be characteristic of his teaching: "Every day is making it clearer that the Providential way of bringing about Reunion, at least in England, is by the powerful grace of God acting on the intelligence, the independence, and the goodwill of individual units, as in the past; and that no hope or confidence is to be placed in the idea of corporate reunion."

But this thoroughly Catholic meaning of "conversion" is either obscured or minimized into unmeaningness by the French writers and orators we have referred to. The reason, as we have said, is that they do not know the Anglican temperament, and do not realize the havoc made by false traditions. That a defined article of faith cannot be denied without heresy, and that the authority of the Holy See cannot be rejected without schism, are known to *them* to be axioms of Catholicity; but living always among Catholics, they utterly fail to apprehend how Anglicans can habitually think the contrary. And so they try the courtly experiment of soothing and caressing, with which many sanguine Ritualists are much pleased. A much wiser method would have been to inquire of Cardinal Vaughan what was really the present attitude of the Ritualistic mind, and so to have avoided making mistakes which, though doubtless quite natural, may put back many conversions for many years.

III.

There is another curious delusion, at least implied by the Abbé Portal, to which it is desirable to refer. This delusion is that the Catholic Church would gain so much by "corporate union" with all the contending communities which make up Anglicanism, that she should strive for it on purely interested grounds. And it is

even urged that the Catholic Church is suffering from her loss of "the Nations of the North," suffering "from the lack of the Teutonic element, while the Anglican Church is increasing in strength." We have here a misstatement both of principle and of fact which we must venture to call hardly excusable. As to principle, the suggestion that the Catholic Church, which now numbers two hundred and twenty millions of souls, would gain strength by the corporate adhesion of twenty-five millions of Anglicans, none of whom are quite sure as to their own belief, it may be dismissed as, to say the least of it, uncatholic. The Anglican communion, as a matter of fact, scarcely includes one-half of the people of England; while in the British dependencies it is in a painful minority. And we all know that when a man says he is an Anglican or a Protestant we are no nearer to concluding what he thinks he believes than if he had made no profession of faith. What advantage then to the Catholic Church could accrue from the fraternization of such a host of conflicting opinionists? If such a "corporate reunion" were possible, it would be an injury at which every Catholic would shudder. Happily it is utterly impossible.

But, as a matter of fact, the growth of Catholicity far exceeds the growth of so-called Anglicanism. As to the "Teutonic element," the number of Teutonic Catholics within the fold exceeds by many millions the whole number of Anglicans throughout the world. But let us go a little more deeply into this question of statistics, since it is urged as being of weighty importance.

There may be a difficulty in obtaining the exact truth in regard to numbers, but we may fairly trust authorities which are known not to be addicted to exaggerating Catholic claims. Thus the "Economiste Français" assures us that, from the year 1800 to 1890—a period almost embracing the present century—the number of Catholics in Germany has gone up from six to sixteen millions. This does not look as if the "Teutonic element" can be spoken of as being lost to Catholicity. And now, as to the "Nations of the North," the number of Catholics in England and Scotland, in the first year of this nineteenth century, was only 120,000. In the year 1890 it had gone up to 1,690,921. (We believe this to be far below the mark, but it is better to keep on the safe side.) Russia is a good country for comparisons, for we all know how Catholics have been persecuted. The advance of Catholicity in the ninety years was (Poland being left out of the calculation) from 20,000 to 2,935,519. As to the United States the increase in the same period has been given as from 61,000 to 7,977,270. And what do we learn about Africa? 47,000 have grown to 3,000,000. As to China the increase is given as from 187,000 to 576,000; while in

Indo-China it is from 310,000 to 690,772. Turkey in Asia and Europe would not be a promising empire, yet the number of Catholics has gone up from 631,000 to 1,298,475. Switzerland has increased her number threefold. Canada has changed 120,000 into 2,000,000. Oceanica has advanced from the very small beginning of 2800 to 2,000,000. Holland also has converted 350,000 into 1,448,852. And so in proportion in most other countries. And it must be remembered that within the last five years—from 1890 to 1896—the progress of Catholicity throughout the world has been swifter than it ever was before. So that viewing this progress as a whole, we may say that, in non-Catholic countries, the increase of Catholics has been fivefold. And in the old Catholic countries there has been this improvement, that there are now very few "indifferent" Catholics; the great bulk of Catholic peoples being solidly Catholic, and the minority being noisily infidel. There is scarcely any Protestantism in Catholic countries. *That* is a weed which is an accident of British fervor; but it is too shallow a compromise to capture intellects. As a rule, the French, Italian and Spanish peoples are logical, keen-witted, and also humorous; and they know the difference between being taught by divine authority and being taught by individual opinion.

Now it is obvious that a growth in Catholicity is not like a growth in Church of Englandism, or indeed in any kind of Protestantism. Every Catholic believes the same thing, so that the Catholic Church is a compact and perfectly united army; not united only in rejecting what is false, but in affirming what is infallibly true. So that the Catholic one-third part of Germany is a much stronger power than the two-thirds of German Rationalist speculators; and the same must be said of all other countries. What the Abbé Portal calls the "Teutonic element" and the "Nations of the North" are steadily returning to the Catholic faith; not by "corporate reunion"—such a fiction is untenable—but by the individual apprehension of the duty of obedience, aided by the spectacle of divided Protestantism.

We have to enquire, in the face of this steady advance of Catholicity, whether the prospects of a "corporate" reconciliation appear to be lessened or increased; and whether the new phases of Protestantism are better adapted than the old ones for "corporate" submission and conciliation?

IV.

It must be accepted as axiomatic that the only possible reconciliation must be preceded by individual submission. And individual submission in the case of Protestants—and as much in the case of Anglicans as of Nonconformists—would mean, *not* the

surrender of the same errors in all Protestants, but of different errors in each separate Protestant. No two Protestants, whether Anglican or Nonconformist, believe or disbelieve in the same way; and while one and all misapprehend the Catholic faith, each one of them misapprehends it quite differently. A "corporate" submission would therefore involve the surrender of ten thousand different "objections" of various minds, these "objections" being entertained in varying spirits, and impossible to be formulated or defined. If then the submission of even one Protestant must involve his complete surrender of many heresies, what would be involved in the submission of a mighty host of deeply differing conflicting opinionists? But "surrender" is just that very difficulty which the corporate reconciliationists will not face. They wish to retain all their private ideas, while "submitting" only to an external fraternity. And this is the not submitting at all. For example, the Rev. Piers L. Claughton, who is the Rector of Hutton, and an advocate of corporate reunion, says that "on the Anglican side there must be the acceptance of the infallibility of the Pope, who ruled over the English Church all through the Middle Ages, and was only renounced for the political exigencies of Henry VIII. . . . . There must also be the acceptance of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception." Now this seems to come very near to "submission," and we scarcely expect any difficulty. But presently we read that there are "conditions;" and the first is that "on the Roman side the validity of our orders and sacraments must be recognized as we recognize theirs, and (2) it must be conceded that the secular clergy may marry." So that here we have an Anglican who actually acknowledges the infallible authority of the Pope, and yet at the same time insists that that infallibility must be instructed as to the essentials of the validity of Holy Orders. Probably there are not many of the High Church party who would combine such contradictory attitudes; but the example serves to show how diversified are the units which are now advocating a "corporate" reunion.

To take another extreme case—extreme in a very painful sense. Father Ignatius, the Anglican monk, writes of a publication by Dean Fremantle as "the very greatest scandal that has ever occurred in our venerable and orthodox Church of England." He says: "For myself I can truly say that the very fact of this awful man being a dean in our beloved Church causes me sleepless nights of mental agony. . . . . We need from the Church of England a plain and explicit expression of her mind, such as shall make clear her determination to hold at all cost to the truth of Revelation, which is her only ground of existence. But the Church of England is silent; our archbishops, bishops and convocations are, as

Canon Gore says, 'accomplices' of Dean Fremantle." Now, seeing that the "heresies" which are so strongly assailed were professed and published eight years ago, and that since their publication the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Fremantle has been promoted to the Deanery of Ripon, we cannot conclude that "the archbishops, bishops and convocations" have taken them very seriously to heart. Father Ignatius says that the Bishop of Ripon "has thoroughly and without a word of protest welcomed as dean into his cathedral a man who is a publicly professed unbeliever in the Christian religion, and a notorious defamer of the Scriptures and the creeds." Whether this accusation is wholly just, we need not now stay to inquire. What we are considering at this moment is the practicability of a "corporate" reconciliation which should include the Rector of Hutton and the Dean of Ripon, and all the innumerable "shades of opinionists" which lie between them. Imagine such a coincidence as that Dean Fremantle and the Rector of Hutton should both together sue for "corporate" reconciliation. Join with these two suitors Father Ignatius, the well-known zealous Anglican monk. And that we may have a thoroughly representative deputation, let us add the Editor of the Ritualist "Church Times" and the President of the Protestant Alliance. Every one of these gentlemen, be it remembered, is equally a member of the Church of England, equally entitled to speak on her behalf, equally competent to dictate the terms of reconciliation, the conditions of the proposed "give and take." It is manifest that, in the anteroom, before their admission to the presence of the Papal Legate, Dean Fremantle, the Rector of Hutton, Father Ignatius, the Editor of the Ritualist newspaper, and the President of the Protestant Alliance would have preliminaries to settle which it might take a number of years to bring within a "corporate" agreement. And if it be answered, "yes, but it is the Ritualists alone who really desire reconciliation; the whole of the rest of the communion, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, and probably three-fourths of the clergy, being as indifferent to corporate as they are to individual submission," we must rejoin: then there is an end of all corporateness; for to say that, within one and the same Church of England, the Ritualistic section may be reconciled to the Catholic authority, while all the other sections remain in hostility equally with Catholicity and Ritualism, is to suppose a babel of different creeds in the same Church, even more embarrassing than that which now exists. It would only be adding a semi-Catholic Ritualist sect to the existing semi-Protestant Ritualist sect; and there would be no more corporateness than is possible between members of the same family and the strangers who knock at their gate for hospitality.

We have still, however, another grave difficulty. The Church of England never was corporate in any sense, historical or sound. It was from the first a political sect, held together solely by royal tyranny and compacted by iniquitous laws. It was "corporate" only in the sense in which prisoners are corporate, within a jail from which they cannot escape. Henry VIII. deprived the nation of their true corporate Church, which was theirs by inheritance and by choice; and because the Pope and the whole Church in England were faithful to their whole Catholic duty he created, not a church, but a schismatical sect, of which he made himself supreme head. The story of "how it was done" is as simple as it is desperately wicked. The nobles and the upper classes were bribed by rich gifts of church lands, church abbeys and money; the burgher class were the dependents of the nobles, and the poor were at the mercy of both. At one blow, as it were, Henry destroyed the monasteries, the homes, schools and hospitals of the poor; he punished the now friendless peasantry as vagrants, and thus created the two great evils from which the country has ever since suffered, a national vagrancy and pauperism. To call such a new religion a "corporate" church would indeed be a trifling with words. And when Elizabeth, driven wild with the Pope's rejection of her claims, abolished the Mass, repudiated five sacraments out of seven, and completely stripped Christianity of its doctrine and discipline, of its authority and divine jurisdiction, she did not make a new church; that was impossible; she established a new sect, which was only corporate in the sense that it was the treason of law against God.

Nor can it be assumed that the Church of England is corporate in the sense of its Common Prayer Book or its Formularies. As to the Prayer Book, it was drawn up by the boy-king Edward VI., was ratified by Elizabeth, and ratified once more by Scotch James. So that to regard the Prayer Book as in real sense representing the *ecclesiastical* totality of the nation would be as absurd as to speak of it as Roman Catholic. And as to the Thirty-Nine Articles—which declare that "General Councils may err," that Transubstantiation is "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture," and that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England"—they were so grotesquely at issue with the beliefs of the nation, with all the traditions of a thousand years, as well as with the dictates of common sense, that they could no more be said to "corporately" voice the nation in its doctrinal and supernatural *credo* than they could be said to reflect justly its intelligence or its educatedness, its truthfulness, sobriety, or morality. We must dismiss, then, the whole idea of a corporate reconciliation in its relation to the history of the State Church, and all its forms of worship and unbelief.

V.

Yet happily, the very impossibility of a corporate reconciliation renders the duty more imperative, and the task more easy, of individual submission to the Church. And has it not always been a habit of English Protestants to talk of "every man being answerable to God in his own conscience," and of his "*not* wanting the guidance of others?" It is exactly this condition which should lead each separate Protestant to pray to God to illumine his intelligence, so that, detaching himself from the crowd of contending teachers, who can teach him nothing but their own private opinions, he may obtain the grace of faith sufficient to make his submission, and so to enjoy the divine sacraments of the Church.

There is no intention of alluding in this present paper to the supernatural side of the subject; it belongs to theologians to speak of the supernatural; and an ordinary lay Catholic would be out of his groove were he to go outside ordinary lay reasonings. It is only in the region of common sense that a layman can talk about "submission"; and Englishmen rather pride themselves on their common sense; indeed, they sometimes seem to claim a monopoly.

Now common sense can establish these three positions: (1) That divine truth can be known only by divine authority; (2) that the Church of England has no divine authority whatever; and (3) that, therefore, each separate Anglican must search for divine authority before he can discover divine truth. This is the making individual responsibility not only the best rule but the only rule. It is an absolute folly for any Anglican to wait until half a dozen other Anglicans, or half a dozen thousand other Anglicans, have chatted over the "terms" on which they will consent to be admitted into membership with the one Church of God; it is the inversion of common sense, since the only motive of being admitted into the Catholic Church must be the conviction that she is the only true teacher. If outsiders can make conditions with the Pope, or, like the amiable Rector of Hutton, who would acknowledge his infallibility provided only his own Orders were acknowledged—it follows, logically, that the divine authority of outsiders must be equal to, if not greater than, that of the Pope. Imagine a man saying in his prayers, "I have no objection to obeying Almighty God, provided he will acquiesce in my views"; yet this is exactly what the Rector of Hutton must say when he affirms that he will accept infallibility provided he, the Rector of Hutton, may define its limits and the scope of the truths to be determined. Common sense is a quite sufficient theologian to apprehend that he who possesses infallibility must alone possess the knowledge of its limits; and that to dictate to the Infallible

what it shall allow or not allow, is the same thing with saying: "You are no more infallible than I am, since it is for me to point out to you what you should do." Undoubtedly, as to certain national customs, as to certain matters of discipline or of *modus vivendi*, it is perfectly lawful for Anglicans to beg for concessions, and a variety of such concessions might be made. But in all matters of faith—and the question of Anglican Orders, though not in itself a question of faith, involves questions which are closely allied with the faith—is just one of those enquiries on which the *magisterium* of the Holy See must make final judgment and pronouncement. Now to say to the Holy See, "I am rather attached to my Anglican Orders, and I really cannot allow your infallibility —or, as it would be in the present instance, your *magisterium*—to upset my fondly cherished convictions," is to acknowledge a principle while denying its operation; to admit a law while denying its obligation. It is an attitude which common sense must ridicule, and which Christian piety must condemn. The Holy See is either set in this world to give judgment on points which are disputed, or it has no more prerogative or special gift than has any one of the fourteen hundred Catholic bishops. To admit the prerogative, the *magisterium*, and yet to affect a superiority over its exercise, is a good deal more like the want of the spirit of concession than like the earnestness which desires concessions.

Have we not seen then that the fallacies of corporate reunion are as obvious as is the paramount duty of individual submission to the Church? And this paramount duty, as has been said, is consistent with the exercise of private judgment—the most treasured of the privileges of Protestantism. There is no need to consult with High Churchmen or Low Churchmen; no need to wait for the harmonizing of a score of dissident "views as to reunion;" no need to take counsel with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with Father Ignatius, with the Rector of Hutton, or with the members of the Protestant Alliance; the only rule is to be sincere and in earnest, and to ask God every day for the gift of faith. This course will be common sense and true piety. If the Church of England—that heterogeneous muddle, which no intellect could ever define, and no soul could ever look to for infallible teaching —affirmed that she possessed divine authority, we might naturally say, ask *her* to tell you whence she derives her divine authority, and what does that divine authority teach. But the Church of England repudiates divine authority; she assures you that all churches, all councils "have erred;" she teaches that "erring" is the grand credential of orthodoxy, and that every one who does not err must be in error. We cannot avoid the paradox; it is not ours, it is Anglican. But every Anglican should rejoice in the

paradox, because it clears the way for individual submission. No Anglican has any one whom he can consult; he has no one to obey, no one who can teach him anything about anything; his "Church" is in the same position as himself, knowing just so much of truth as can be gathered from the private impression of what the Roman Catholic Church has always taught. This "private impression" is equally the privilege of all Anglicans; of Cranmer, of Laud, of John Wesley, of Lord Halifax, and of the Protestant Alliance. Away then with the too puerile fiction of obedience to a "Church" which does not exist! Every Anglican, when seeking the truth, must begin by turning his back on the imposter which affirms that "all churches may err."

In a few months what is called the Pan-Anglican Synod will meet at Lambeth for the discussion of—what? We are emphatically warned that the more than two hundred Anglican Bishops will *not* settle doctrinal disputes, will not affirm or condemn. We knew beforehand that they would not attempt to do so; and that if they made the attempt, there would be one universal exclamation, "*risum teneatis amici.*" Now this one curious anomaly, the Pan-Anglican Synod, should clear the way for "individual submission." We can imagine an Anglican, who is really anxious to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, sitting outside the Synod Hall at Lambeth, and waiting for the decisions of the Synod. "Will you tell me," he asks eagerly of the bishops, "whether I am in the Church or out of it? If I am in the Church, of course you can define for me what is the true doctrine of the 'communion service;' whether I ought to adore the Consecrated Host, or to believe only in a spiritual Real Presence?" No answer. "Will you tell me whether the Anglican clergy for the last three centuries have been priests; whose duty it was to hear confessions, and whose power it was to give absolutions; and have they therefore, for three centuries, incurred the anathema of the Church, for never doing what it was their duty to do, and for always preaching against the powers which they possessed?" No answer. "Will you tell me whether the Roman Catholic Church in this country is in schism, and if so, from what Church it is in schism, and by whose authority it is proved to be in schism?" No answer. "Will you tell me what is the Living Authority in the world, to decide for me on all matters of faith; so that, for example, between the teaching of the Tsar's Church, of the English Ritualists, and of the Protestant Alliance, I may be guided infallibly to choose the truth; and will you specially mention *why* the Roman Catholic Church, which is the only Church in the world which claims to teach, and the only Church in the world which does now teach, is to be the one only communion to which I am to refuse

my obedience, under penalty of the Anglican anathema?" No answer.

Individual Submission is the clearest duty of free will within a "Church" which is neither *docens* nor *discens*. If we had to live a thousand years, instead of ten years or one year, we might wait a day or two longer before making quite sure whether we were inside or outside the Church of God. But to risk dying without confession and absolution, without Holy Communion, without Extreme Unction, and without the aid of the Communion of Saints, is what common sense must pronounce to be the wildest act of folly which is so much as even possible to the human mind.

A. F. MARSHALL.

A DAUGHTER OF THE DOGES.

THE Venetian family of the Cornaro had made its name illustrious by the several doges it had given to the state from the fourteenth century onward, and by one of its noble daughters, Caterina, queen of Cyprus. This young woman, daughter of a rich merchant, was given in marriage to James de Lusignan on his being made king of Cyprus, when that island was wrested from the Greeks. Proud though the Venetians were of the wealth brought by their enterprising merchants to the ancient city, it was deemed scarcely fitting that the new king should wed a wife without a title, although her family was one of the oldest in Venice, so the republic adopted the youthful Caterina; it pronounced her a daughter of St. Mark, and became her guardian. And nobly it fulfilled this self-imposed trust, for later, when her royal husband was killed in the defence of his kingdom, Venice watched over the welfare of the widow and her infant child. Finally, her position becoming most precarious, Caterina cast aside the unsafe burden of sovereignty and abdicated in favor of the republic; later she retired to Asolo, where she kept up a mimic court for many years. Pietro Bembo, afterwards cardinal, wrote about the innocent but rather unreal life led there, with its fantastic pastimes and revels.[1] The story of Caterina has fascinated more than one

[1] It is probable that this book was among those printed by the famous Aldus; for Cardinal Bembo, both before and after his elevation to the Sacred College, was a friend and patron of Aldus.

painter of mediæval life, notably Titian, whose portrait of her in the Uffizi Gallery charms us to-day, and Markart, whose "Venice Paying Homage to Caterina Cornaro," was one of Austria's contributions to the World's Fair at Chicago.

Another distinguished member of the family, Luigi, was a great advocate of temperance. In youth he had led a rather wild and irregular life, but when forty years old he reformed completely, and became noted for his sobriety and abstemiousness. After his eighty-fifth year he wrote a "Treatise on a Temperate Life," which was translated into various languages. The work was commended by Addison in the "Spectator," who mentions the author's having reached the advanced age of one hundred and three. A different branch of the family, claiming descent from the Roman "gens Cornelia," also produced many eminent men, among them a pope, Gregory XII., a doge, several cardinals and other prelates, captains, generals, and ambassadors.

But a daughter of the queen's branch was destined to shed the greatest glory upon the name, already so celebrated in the history of its country. Helena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, born in 1646, attracted the attention of all Italy by her virtues, talents and learning. At the time of her birth the office of procurator[1] of St. Mark, second only to that of doge, was held by her brother, Jean-Baptiste. Thus the little Helena had all the advantages of a high station and historic name, and was surrounded from her infancy with the splendid and gorgeous environment characteristic of Venetian life. Surely an enviable position, and yet the child was not dazzled by so much brilliancy; a keen insight into the emptiness of it all appears to have been her birthright. Her chroniclers speak of her as a grave aud thoughtful little soul, and tell us of her profound disgust for the ordinary amusements of childhood. She was endowed with an astonishing memory, and the original conclusions she drew from the facts presented to her gave evidence of remarkable reasoning power. Such varied gifts drew the attention of Jean-Baptiste Fabris, a friend of her brother's, who early foresaw the brilliant future of this charming and attractive child; at his suggestion it was decided to train her thoroughly in the ancient languages, and accordingly some of the most learned men of the time were engaged as her tutors. She soon gave evidence of

---

[1] The Procurator of St. Mark lodged in the palace in the piazza di San Marco; he was obliged to hold three audiences a week, and was not allowed, without express permission from the great council, to be absent more than two days a month. His chief duties were to superintend the cathedral and treasury of St. Mark, take legal guardianship of orphans, and be public executor to such as chose to appoint him. The procurators were held in great consideration throughout Italy, and were remarkably free from intrigue.—*Sketches of Venetian History.*

great proficiency, with an indication that she might eventually surpass her instructors. While still a young girl just budding into womanhood, she spoke with fluency and purity both ancient and modern Greek, Latin, French and Spanish, and it is even recorded that no rabbi could surpass her in a knowledge of Hebrew. Her poems, too, of which many were written at this time, were greatly admired.

Not satisfied with her success as a linguist, Helena studied in turn music, philosophy, theology, and mathematics, in each of which she attained a high degree of perfection, and her reputation spread throughout Europe. To these intellectual gifts and great personal loveliness was added the crowning glory of rare moral beauty. It would have seemed only natural that one so fitted for every enjoyment would have given herself up to all that life proffered so temptingly, above all in a country where nature and art seem to invite one to drink to the full of their charms, and to seize the passing pleasures with no thought of future responsibility. But a high sense of religion and an austere spirit of self-sacrifice guarded the young girl, and made her flee from the seductions of her brilliant surroundings and the more subtle attractions of the applause that followed her every appearance.

Women were still admitted to many of the great universities, and Venice, with pardonable pride, desired its accomplished daughter to give a public proof of her learning by defending a thesis and submitting to the examination for the degree of Doctor of Arts at the famous university of Padua, then under the patronage of Venice. The young girl's native modesty shrank from so public a display of her learning, but finally in deference to the repeated entreaties of her family and the Signoria, she consented to the ordeal. Great preparations were made for the event. On the appointed day the vast cathedral was filled to overflowing with the most distinguished people in Italy, and a crowd of students from the various universities, eager to hear and see this new aspirant for academic honors. The bishop, as was customary, celebrated a solemn high mass; as he pronounced the final blessing, the examiner of the day arose. A more picturesque scene can scarcely be imagined; the dignitaries of the Church in their robes of various hues, the nobles and merchant princes of the great republic, the fair patrician women, framed by the solemn background of the old cathedral, and facing them the pure modest figure of the learned Helena. Perhaps the staid and solemn professor was moved with pity for this girlish candidate; mayhap he even wondered at her audacity, who knows? In any case he was bound to do his duty to his Alma Mater, and not allow mere youth and beauty to gain access to the famed university, unless they were

accompanied by the more solid acquirements of philosophy. No leniency must be shown on account of age or sex, no superficial examination allowed. As question after question of the most difficult nature was answered by the youthful student with a simple ease and dignity that won all hearts, cheers burst forth from the sympathetic listeners. So brilliant were the replies, and so deep and varied the learning evinced by Helena in the subsequent discourses delivered by her, that the judges even declared their willingness to bestow upon her the degree of Doctor of Theology; surely no greater honor could have been offered by the ancient university. The final decision withheld the title, however, but with public recognition of the Cornaro's great and unqualified merit.

A few months later Venice prepared to celebrate its annual fete. The republic desired to honor the daughter who had won so signal a triumph at Padua, and at the same time add greater splendor to the national holiday by espousing her on this occasion to one of its most valiant defenders. The Great Council selected as her husband a nephew of the doge, a young general who had many times led the Venetian fleet to victory. But alas for the plans of these well-meaning and worthy lords, who with all their knowledge of men had failed to read aright the heart of a woman. The Cornaro is not free to wed. From her eleventh year she has consecrated her affections to her Saviour. This secret, religiously guarded, explains her indifference to the homage paid alike to her beauty and her talents. Even now, with maidenly reserve, she hesitates to assign her real reason, but contents herself with modestly declining the honor of the proffered alliance, revealing the true cause of her refusal to her brother alone. He, furious with disappointment, declared her childish promise rash and invalid, and continued to insist upon the marriage, so advantageous from every human point of view.

The day was fast approaching when the historic ceremony of the betrothal[1] of the doge and the Adriatic was to take place. Venice, whose vast commerce made her queen of the sea, was indebted to it for her beauty, her supremacy among mediæval

[1] This privilege had always been cherished by the Venetians with the most tenacious pride, and its anniversary was their greatest holiday. The original ceremony was very simple and touching. The clergy in their most beautiful vestments, and the doge in gorgeous robes of State, met at the Lido, and all the people gathered near. Solemnly various litanies and psalms were recited, then the bishop prayed aloud: "Grant, O Lord, that this sea may be to us and to all who sail upon it tranquil and quiet. To this end we pray. Hear us, good Lord." How heartfelt must have been the Amens of these dwellers by the sea, so many of whom lived upon its bosom and experienced its treachery as well as its beauty. At the conclusion of the prayers the bishop sprinkled with holy water the doge and the court, the chanters intoning meanwhile, "Aspergimi, O Signor," after which the holy water remaining was thrown into the sea.

nations, even her existence. Her very foundations, scanty and shifting, were wrested with effort from the surrounding waters; in truth the beautiful city owed but little to the land. The waves, as if conscious of the dependence of the city upon them, kissed its stones lovingly; they softly bathed its beautiful marbles in time of peace and proudly carried its victorious fleets to new honors when Venice waged war against its neighbors, or sought to put down the power of the haughty Turk. Brightly, too, they danced in the sunlight when the mighty ships returned to the lagoons, bringing back the treasures of the East, and filling with pride the hearts of the merchant princes who were its rulers. This mutual dependence was most fittingly shown by a ring, symbol of an indissoluble alliance, and blessed like that which the bridegroom places upon the finger of his bride when he solemnly plights his troth at the foot of the altar. Many were the brilliant scenes enacted upon the fair blue sea, but none that called forth the pride and patriotism of the valiant republic as that pageant that marked the anniversary of her great victory. In the lovely month of May, under the calm sky and the soft sunshine, on the beautiful feast of La Sensa, Ascension Day, all Venice proceeded to make holiday. We may be sure that every Venetian who could secure a boat of any description made his way through the various canals as near to the place of meeting as his little craft could carry him amid the great throng of vessels. On the blue waters of the gulf lay the thousands of gondolas decked with flowers and bright with gayly-dressed pleasure seekers; the famed Bucentaur, the barge of the republic, resplendent among them all with its gorgeous tapestries and flags, bore proudly through the crowd the doge with the representatives of the senate and council. Martial music resounded over the waters and alternated with the fresh, pure voices of young girls singing patriotic hymns in mingled praise of the republic and the sea, celebrating the magnificence, the glory and the profits of the illustrious alliance about to be renewed. A beautiful altar on the ducal gondola was prepared for the celebration of the sacred mysteries. The prelate in solemn pontifical robes stands ready to bless the betrothal, while the doge, kneeling upon a cushion splendidly embroidered with the arms of the city, sees around him, their heads bowed in homage, the great personages of the State. At the right of the altar stood a number of young boys, careless and happy children of the sea, a living embodiment of the essentially maritime existence of the republic; on the left, emblem of her aristocratic element, was a group of young girls, members of noble and illustrious families, at their head Helena Cornaro, the cynosure of all eyes. Suddenly from that immense throng is heard a loud joyous cry, followed by the silence of intense expec-

tation. The doge has just received the blessed ring; he advances to the gilded railing of the gondola and exclaims aloud: "O thou, our strength and our power, limitless wave of the ocean, be thou blessed! On this happy day Venice, by my voice, chooses thee for master and spouse. In exchange for this protection, this help that has never failed, she offers thee her gratitude and fidelity. May He who has created thee in all the immensity of thy power even while assigning thy limits receive and guard our promises and our vows." "Long live the Adriatic! Long live the doge!" resounds from a thousand throats; "glory and prosperity to Venice, the queen of the seas!"

The ceremonies over, all gave, themselves up to pleasure as became the citizens of a great and prosperous nation, and in the gay and child-like spirit that characterized their age and clime. Gayly-colored banners hung from gondola and balcony, garlands and streamers brightened the sombre walls of old palaces. As evening came on fireworks were set off on the shores of the lagoons; arrows shot from the church towers, carried their flaming crowns far into the air and the limpid waters of the canals reflected all the sparkling lights from sky and shore. Everywhere was brightness and gayety; here the shrill voices of the children at play, mingled with women's low laughter, there snatches of song or some national air sung by a party of brave sailors as they glided by, keeping time with their oars.

In the palace of the doge a scene of splendor charmed the eyes of all; from the open windows came floods of light and harmony; the balconies were brilliant with flowers and the gorgeous costumes of stately Venetian dames and their cavaliers. Hundreds of gondolas, swaying under the weight of the merry parties they bore along, crowded close to the walls, for all were eager to take part in the official celebration, or, failing that, at least to witness the festivities from as good a point of vantage as could be obtained.

Among the beautiful and honored women in the venerable palace of St. Mark's, Helena Cornaro moved with the modest simplicity that ever characterized her. In the world, but not of it, no thought of jealousy or intrigue disturbed the sweet serenity of her manner. A grave graciousness marked her greeting to all and underwent no change when conducted by her brother to a small oratory concealed from the grand salon by heavy hangings, she saw entering in affectionate discourse the doge and his noble nephew, the most popular hero of the day's fête. Yet Helena understood but too well the motive that had actuated the Signoria in the special honors showered upon her of late, and more particularly during the eventful day now drawing to a close.

She felt that the triumph at Padua had not alone influenced the doge in assigning her so prominent a place in the public ceremonies of the morning. Nerving her heart for the ordeal from which she saw no escape, she listened with a gentle gravity as the doge, with the tenderness of a father, said: "My daughter, do not any longer refuse to crown with joy the whole republic by accepting as your husband the suitor she has chosen for you; both your brother and I join our entreaties with those of all the people." Helena was about to reply, when her brother, anticipating her refusal and the religious motives she would assign, unrolled before her eyes a parchment bearing the authentic seal of Rome, and exclaimed: "Obey, Helen, obey! it is not only your privilege, but your duty, for you are free!" Helena seized the parchment, glancing rapidly over it, and seeing that it was a papal brief granting her a formal dispensation from her vow, she uttered a frightened cry and fell senseless to the floor.

Very early the next morning "the pious Godaninus," abbot of the monastery of St. George, received the following note from Helena: "Hasten, my father, come and save one of your children; hasten, for the danger is imminent." The holy and learned Benedictine repaired hastily to the Cornaro palace in answer to this urgent appeal. Upon seeing him, Helena threw herself at his feet: "Save me, father, save me from a freedom that I have never demanded and that I do not wish to accept." After trying in vain to change the determination of the noble young girl, the venerable abbot could in conscience no longer refuse to receive her vows as an oblate of St. Benedict. Scarcely had he withdrawn, than Helena, calling up all her strength of mind and heart, presented herself before her brother and disclosed to him the new ties by which she had again bound herself unreservedly to God."

Such prompt and energetic firmness had its effect. Both father and brother were finally won over and consented to allow Helena to be happy in her own way. One cannot help wondering whether the young officer took her decision as calmly and whether he, like Helena, was merely being urged to the marriage for state reasons. One almost hopes that such was the case, and that before long he was allowed to unite himself to a maiden of his own choosing, although it would, of course, be far more romantic to picture him as pining away for love of the inexorable Helena.

Her father, while giving his consent that his daughter should lead a celibate and religious life, merely stipulated that she should not enter a convent. To this Helena agreed, grateful for the permission accorded her for leading the life of her choice, and realizing that some sacrifice of her own wishes was due to her family, whose plans she had so materially changed, and to the doge,

whose disappointment she deeply regretted, and for whom she ever retained a warm regard. She passed the remainder of her life under the paternal roof, devoting herself to study, the care of her father and the service of the poor. In the midst of the splendors of the palace she led a life of the greatest simplicity, practicing, as far as possible, the discipline of the cloister and wearing under her rich attire the white habit of St. Benedict. Seeing her Saviour in the person of the suffering and the afflicted, she healed their sorrows with words of pity and hope, and gave for their material wants those comforts she denied herself. Some eighteen years were thus spent in the service of God and humanity, winning for her the admiration of those who had not the courage to follow in the thorny path of self-abnegation and the devoted love of the poor, who recognized in her the perfect disciple of Him who said: "In as much as you have done it unto the least of these, you have done it unto me."

At the early age of thirty-eight, in the year 1684, Helena Carnaro passed to her reward, followed by a mourning crowd of those to whom she had been a mother and a protectress. Her brother, inconsolable at the loss of his gentle companion, grieved unceasingly for her and erected in her honor a magnificent mausoleum in the Church of St. Justin. Padua, too, placed her statue among those of its illustrious citizens. But her most enduring monument is in the hearts of a grateful and admiring people, who have enshrined her in their memories as a shining example of learning, modesty and religion.

ANNE STUART BAILEY.

THE EVENTS AND CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

THE reign of the Dane in England lasted twenty-four years. These years were mainly glorious. Canute made the name of England feared and respected throughout the Continent, and Scot and Cambrian, Norwegian and Swede, did him homage. The Anglo-Saxon, long harassed and terrorized by the Dane, now joined hands with him, and shoulder to shoulder they moved in the cause of a common country. The sterling worth, the benevolence, the piety, the genius of Canute were irresistible, and the hate of centuries became a dead past.

This consummation, so unexpected and gratifying, was owing to the head and heart of a single individual, and when that head ceased to think and that heart to pulsate, the Anglo-Saxon awoke from the spell of enchantment, old animosities revived, he was himself again. The land was his—its traditions and history, its monuments and ruins, its names and achievements, its poetry and music, its philosophy and arts, its laws and institutions, its scenery and sky, all were his; and though he might embrace the Dane in the bonds of a common citizenship, he would not allow him to occupy the throne endeared to him by a thousand fond memories and recollections—the throne of an Alfred, an Athelstane and an Edgar. His eye and soul went out across the channel; he remembered the poor exile, the saintly brother of the gallant Ironside, and determined to terminate the days of his exile. To determine was to act, to act to triumph, and five years after the death of Canute, Edward, whose memory was to generations of his afflicted countrymen what the memory of Sion was to the captive children of Israel, sat securely on the throne of his ancestors.

The joy of the Anglo-Saxon at the restoration was, however, soon tinged with sorrow by the nobility and generosity of Edward. During the years of his exile in sunny Normandy, he made many friends and acquaintances, to some of whom he was under obligations. Many were attracted to him because of his virtues, accomplishments and misfortunes; others because of the ties of relationship, and not a few through interested motives. All eagerly looked forward to the day of his triumph, and when it came they sought, and, unfortunately, obtained recognition. As they increased in power they became insolent, arrogant and domineering. They talked of William's claim to the succession, and made little effort to conceal their design to secure it to him. They

looked with contempt on the Anglo-Saxon, and were, in turn, regarded by him with thorough detestation. The open rupture long impending came, and the suavity, duplicity and consummate villainy of the Norman were in the ascendant.

Just at this juncture William, Duke of Normandy, whom the king had known from childhood, set foot on the shore of the land that he afterwards deluged in blood and filled with wailing. If, heretofore, he looked upon himself as a dreamer of impracticable dreams regarding the succession, there was much in the situation to cause a change in the estimate. He found his countrymen numerous, prosperous, dominant, and victorious. The language, the songs and the music of Normandy everywhere greeted his ears, and he felt that though he had crossed the channel, he was still at home. Governors, prelates, courtiers, soldiers and sailors evidenced a loyalty to him that boded ill for the future of England. Edward received him, not as a distinguished foreigner alone, but as a brother, and on his departure manifested a magnificence of wealth and affection worthy of a better object than the bastard of Robert the Devil, whose daring ambition was capable of any hazard that promised power or emolument. We will not intrude on his reflections as from the prow of the ship that bore him from the shores of England, he gazed on her receding cliffs, but that they were worthy of his character and surroundings, who can question?

If, as is certainly probable, he counted on the numbers and influence of the Normans in the event of the death of Edward, the return of Godwin and his sons, the subsequent decree of banishment secured against his countrymen must have disturbed the repose of his reflections, of whatever nature, pertaining to the succession. But unfortunately the king's trust in foreigners soon came to his relief in a most unexpected way. Hostages were demanded of Godwin for the security of the peace, and these hostages, one the brother and the other the nephew of Harold, were sent to William for safe keeping. Several years after, in 1065, when Harold had by glorious deeds endeared himself to his people, had become their idol, and when his name was on every lip as the next occupant of the throne, he sought permission of the king to demand in his name the release of the hostages so long in captivity. Whatever opinion the king may have previously entertained of William, it is evident, from his reply to Harold, that his eyes were now opened, and that he had awakened to a full perception of the character of his youthful companion of other days in Normandy. "I will not compell you to stay," said he, "but if you go, it is not by my wish; for your journey will certainly bring some evil upon yourself and upon your country. I know Duke William and his crafty mind; he hates you, and will grant you nothing unless he

gain greatly by it; the only way safely to obtain the hostages from him were to send some one else."[1]

Harold, in disregard of the advice of the saintly king, set sail for Normandy, and, after many mishaps and adventures, became the companion in arms and in sports of the wily and treacherous William. No difficulty was made about the release of the hostages, and no pains or expense spared to make his stay one of pleasure and festivity. William, with a deep-set purpose, determined to win his confidence, and he succeeded. When the opportune moment arrived, he disclosed his purpose; he told him of the promise of Edward, while in exile, to make him his heir should he ever occupy the throne of England, and requested his assistance to make that promise good. Harold, who, with his relatives, was in his power, promised assistance. He was then required to fortify Dover Castle, to deliver it up to the Normans when the time came; to marry the duke's daughter, Adeliza; to give his sister in marriage to a Norman, and to leave one of the released hostages as a guarantee for his promise.

All the perfidious conditions were, as a matter of necessity, accepted. William, however, did not stop here; he wished to make assurance doubly sure. With a simple promise made without witnesses, he was not satisfied; he would have that promise ratified by an oath, the most sacred and terrible, according to the ideas of those times, and in the presence of the most august assembly of the country. For this purpose he resorted to an artifice infamous and horrible. Collecting in the council hall of Bayeux all the relics and bodies of saints from the town and neighborhood, he caused them to be placed in a box and the box to be covered with a cloth of gold. When, according to his order, the high barons were assembled, he ascended the throne. Around him were numbers of the nobility, and among them was Harold, entirely ignorant of the purpose of the assembly. The enthroned ruffian, having ordered two small reliquaries—Guizot says a missal—to be placed on the cloth of gold, turned to where Harold stood and thus addressed him: "Harold, I require thee, before this noble assembly, to confirm by oath the promises thou hast made to me, namely, to aid me to obtain the kingdom of England after the death of King Edward; to marry my daughter Adeliza, and to send thy sister that I may wed her to one of my people."[2] Harold, taken by surprise, as directed, advanced to the cloth on which were placed the

[1] *Chronique de Normandie, Rec. des Hist. de France*, xiii., 223: *Roman de Rou*, ii., 108; *Eadmer*, i., p. 4; Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., p. 146; Guizot's *History of England*, vol i., p. 88.

[2] *Roman de Rou*, ii., 114; *Eadner*, p. 5: *Guill. Pictav.*, 191; Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., p. 149.

two small reliquaries, or missal, as others say, and swore as commanded. Then the cloth was removed, and to his amazement, he saw that he had been entrapped to swear on the relics and entire bodies of saints. Now that diabolical cunning was triumphant, Harold was no longer needed in Normandy, and the sacrilegious juggler, with the joy of a demon, accompanied him to the coast, where he parted with him, simulating the affection of a brother and displaying a lavishness worthy of a rich and generous prince.

This is the version of Harold's visit as gleaned from the most trustworthy writers. All are agreed that he was in Normandy the guest of William, and that he swore to aid him in obtaining the crown of England. There is some conflict as to the circumstances of the oath, but there is none as to the fact. There is disagreement also as to the purpose of the visit, the Norman writers maintaining that he was commissioned by Edward to notify the duke that he had appointed him his successor. If we consider for a moment what Harold was, what he had done, what his people said of him, his expectations and their expectations, that the only barrier to his ambition and their ambition was Edgar, the son of Edward the Outlaw, an imbecile in mind and body, and that at this time, 1065, his claim was completely ignored; if we consider these things, we must either reject the Norman report or write idiot on the tomb of the king, and fool on that of his messenger.

But are the authorities agreed as to whom this duty was assigned? Does not Ingulf, the private secretary of William,[1] say that it was Robert de Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury, and do we not know that he fled from England thirteen years before? Does not William of Poitou[2] say that the same prelate conducted to Normandy the hostages given by Godwin, and that he was then charged with this duty? Do we not know that instead of conducting hostages, he fled for his life before the reconciliation of Godwin and Edward was effected, or hostages given? If Harold were sent with this message, would not William have so stated in his cause of complaint before the papal court? Would not this be a stronger reason, than any alleged by him before that court, for the invasion of England?[3]

---

[1] Page 68. [2] P. 44.

[3] We indicate here a few points which we are obliged to think detract considerably from the force of the arguments so earnestly urged by our esteemed contributor.

The work attributed to Ingulphus is now known to be suppositious, and is consequently of no historical value.

William of Poitou, who was a contemporary of what he relates, may be quite right in stating that the hostages were conducted to Normandy by Archbishop Robert. It is true, Robert had fled before the reconciliation of Edward and the Godwins; but it was only the day before, and *after* the truce had been agreed to and the hostages delivered, as the Saxon Chronicle expressly states. The archbishop was accompanied

Dr. Lingard rejects both this and the version we have given. He says: "Perhaps it were more safe to rely on the authority of those writers who appear ignorant of both these reports, and who describe the voyage of Harold as an occasional excursion along the coast, from which he was driven by a storm on the barbarous territory of Ponthieu."[1] He bases his rejection of the Anglo-Saxon report on the improbability that one who was desirous of the crown would, willingly, for the sake of the release of two captives, commit himself to the mercy of a rival; and, indeed, had he known him, it would have been an unwise undertaking. Did he know him? Had he any reason to regard him as a rival? Norman power in England was almost completely crushed by the order of banishment which the rebellion of Godwin secured. William had not the shadow of a title to the crown, and made no claim to it, so far as Harold knew. True, his subjects had talked about his succession, but the only ground for their talk was that Robert the Devil, who begat him unlawfully, was the nephew of Emma, mother of Edward. Harold was too busy, too sensible, and too secure, to heed what he could not but regard as idle prattle, since he knew that the king did not want William, and the Anglo-Saxons detested him. Up to 1057, William could have no rational hope, for the rightful heir, Edward the Outlaw, son of the gallant Ironside, was living and his claim recognized. From 1057 to 1065 the king treated Edgar as a son, and it was only when convinced of his unfitness for the throne that he abandoned the project of securing it to him. Then all eyes were turned on Harold.

If these be the facts, he had no reason to regard William as his rival from a legitimate standpoint. But suppose he was his rival,

---

in his flight by the Bishops of London and Dorchester and a strong escort. What safer or more likely occasion was there for sending the hostages?

That hostages were required by Edward and sent by him to William is certain, and perhaps under the circumstances is not surprising; but that he should not have asked for their release for over twelve years after Godwin's death, but had them retained there as security for the fidelity of Harold is a fact not calculated to give us a favorable idea of the king's friendship for, or trust in, the latter. Should it be deemed so strange, after all, if Edward had really preferred to have for successor his cousin and friend rather than a herdsman's son and rebel with whom he had been forced to make terms? As for the different stories that were in circulation respecting Harold's visit to William, we think that William of Malmesbury was right in preferring, as "propius vero," that told by the "secretioris consilii conscii;" it seems to us to harmonize best with the known facts and to explain the origin of the other stories, especially if supplemented by what Ordericus Vitalis tells us of Harold's interview with Edward on his return.

As to the representations made by William to the papal court, we can know their nature only in a general way and by conjecture, as the ancient historians have not informed us and there exist no records. This defect, however, our modern romanticists easily supply by their imagination.—ED.

[1] *History of England*, vol. i., p. 302.

that he knew him, what had he to dread? Was he not the messenger of a powerful and noble king, and if William, as is asserted, was his rival, would it not be the part of wisdom to treat him according to the comity of nations? The king was on the verge of the grave, and if William had cherished any expectations of being made his heir, would not an act of treachery towards his representative endanger it? Was not Harold the idol of his people, and would they not resent any ill treatment of him? How would the Papacy, then the guardian of the rights of Christian states, view an act of treachery on the person of a renowned hero, the trusted agent of a saintly king? Was it not a notorious fact that William, in shaping his course, had an eye constantly to the Papacy? Was it not William's endeavor to give a color of legitimacy to his design, and would not ill usage of Harold defeat it?

The truth is, he did not know him, and very few outside of Normandy did. According to Guizot, he did not know him even at the time he gave his promise to betray his country. "He did not know," he says, "the Norman and his far-sighted schemes."[1] He knew him only as a brave and successful warrior and ruler. With such a character he could not associate treachery. Therefore, unsuspicious as adventurous, he obeyed the call of affection. What more natural than that he should desire to be the one to break the bonds of a loved brother and nephew, and lead them in triumph to their country? What achievement could endear him more to his people? Would they not greet him by the thousands on the beach, would they not line his way to the court, and would not the king, by their presence and exultation, be made more sensible than ever that Harold alone could acceptably take up the sceptre when it had fallen from his hands? Clearly, the motives for the journey outweighed his fears, if fears he had.

Adhering, therefore, to the report of the Anglo-Saxon writers, notwithstanding the doubt thrown on their credit by so careful and learned an historian as Dr. Lingard, we will resume the thread of our narrative. Immediately on his arrival from Normandy, Harold repaired to the palace and recounted to the king what had taken place. It is inconceivable, from what the king then said, that he had the remotest idea of making William his heir, and that he ever had such an idea, whether before or after his coronation, there is no evidence worth the slightest consideration. "Did I not warn thee," said he, "that I knew this William, and that thy journey would bring great evils upon thyself and upon thy nation?"[2]

---

[1] *History of England*, vol. i., p. 90.

[2] "Eadmer," Roger de Hoveden, p. 449; Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. 1, p. 150; Guizot's *History of England*, vol. i., pp. 90, 91.

These words furnish Thierry a basis for asserting that the king had in the days of his exile made a promise of his throne to William, but how they do so is somewhat puzzling to those not gifted with his imagination and insight. "These words and this mournful expression," he says, "would seem to prove that Edward had really, in the days of his youth and heedlessness, made the rash promise to a foreigner of a royalty that did not belong to him. It is not known whether, subsequent to his succession, he had by any expressions nourished William's ambitious hopes; but, in default of specific words, his constant friendship for the Norman had, with the latter, supplied the place of positive assurances, and given grounds for believing him still favorable to his views."[1]

Intelligent and scrupulously conscientious from childhood, it is not likely that he made what Thierry calls a rash promise, but what we, in the light of Anglo-Saxon history, call an infamous promise. If the promise were ever made, it was made with the view of securing Norman power in case of a struggle for the crown, and there is nothing in the twenty-seven years of Edward's exile to lead us to so dishonorable a conclusion. He was not the next heir to the throne, and would not, in all probability, have been elected if his nephew, Edward the Outlaw, the son of Edmund Ironside, could be reached. Fortunately for Edward he was in England at the time of Hardicanute's death, and the necessity of the situation made an immediate choice indispensable. When, therefore, this promise was said to have been made to a mere boy, almost a child, Edward had only a bare possibility of the succession, and unless violence was contemplated, the promise was meaningless. The crown was not Edward's to give, and William could not hope to gain it except by bloodshed. If, however, this answer of Edward's be the only reliance for a promise, except the *ipse dixit* of William, it is trifling with time and space to notice it.

As meekness and charity were the two distinguishing virtues of Edward, he must have had a clear knowledge of William's purpose when he expressed himself as he did on the occasion of Harold's departure and return. He evidently saw the coming storm that he was powerless to avert, but his prayer was heard. He was now old, and his health had been failing for some time. His reign was long and glorious. He was loved by his subjects as few monarchs had ever been, and his entire devotion to them merited it. In famine and pestilence his benevolence was exceptional, and his constant endeavors to guard them from the horrors of war were singularly successful. The ulcers of the body politic, like the ulcers of the body natural, were healed at his touch. The rebellion of

[1] Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., p. 150.

Godwin was bloodless, and the Danish pirates who effected a landing were compelled to retire without striking a blow. The resident Dane, whose rapacity and ruffianism during the reign of Harold and of Hardicanute were almost intolerable, was, by his moderation, transformed into a law-abiding citizen. Obedient to his wishes, the Anglo-Saxon, with a magnanimity almost unique in the history of nations, extended to him the right hand of fellowship, and made him his social and political equal. The union thus cemented stayed the arm of foreign aggression, and compelled the robber kings of the north to say: "We will allow you to reign unmolested over your country, and we will content ourselves with the lands which God has given us to rule."

There may have been other causes than those alleged for his partiality to Normans; his knowledge of William may have forced a display of kindness that was rooted in policy more than in any other motive. All his actions were in their interests, and now, that he was about to leave them to go to that God whose aid he always invoked, they manifested a regard truly filial. Those who stood round his bed in his dying moments, wept as if their hearts would break. He, and he only, was unmoved and among his last utterances was an act of faith and a prophecy: "I shall not die, I shall live," he exclaimed.

Prophetic words indeed! He lived through the dark night of Norman bondage, rapacity and brutality, and he lives to-day wherever England's law has been carried. That law is to be found in every quarter of the globe, and multitudes of Mohammedans and Buddhists, savages and barbarians, of every creed and every complexion, acknowledge its supremacy. The Southern Cross and the Stars and Stripes symbolize and protect a liberty, the germs of which are "the laws and customs of the good King Edward." The bench, the bar, and the pulpit, the three most potent conservators of society and civilization, have lovingly perpetuated his memory and achievements. Literature and art have brought their tributes to him, the Church, by her canonization of him, has made his name enduring as the world, and the great heart of humanity through the ages, in triumph as in trials, has gone out to him as a benefactor without a peer, as an examplar of the principle that the king can do no wrong, thereby verifying the truth of the expiring exclamation, "I shall not die, I shall live."

The day of Edward's burial was a day of sorrow and rejoicing — sorrow for the departed and rejoicing for the coronation of Harold, the late king's choice and the nation's choice. The news of the accession of the new king was everywhere hailed with delight except by the Northumbrians, whose discontent was, however, readily appeased. The soul and heart of England was now with

him—with him in weal or woe. If he was not of the royal race of Cerdic, he was a Saxon to the core, tried and true. Prophets of evil might cry out in the streets, predictions of disaster and ruin might be borne on every breeze, pious old monks might con over dusty tomes or scan the heavens in search of calamities, the men of brawn and brain heeded not. They felt that with Harold for leader they were equal to any and every foe.

But it is denied that Edward named him as his successor, and asserted that he named William. Were both denial and assertion true, it would not affect Harold's right, for as the free choice of the people he was a legitimate sovereign. It had been the custom to secure the consent of the Witenagemote to the succession, even in the case of a direct heir. While it was necessary that its choice should fall on the descendants or immediate relatives, when such descendants or relatives could be found, of a deceased or deposed king, merit, and not immediate right, might determine the succession. It could, therefore, and as a matter of fact did, reject the direct heir for one better qualified. Edward, as we have seen, was thus chosen, while his nephew was the next in succession. In the case we are considering, there was no heir, except the imbecile Edgar,[1] and a king should be chosen equal to the impending conflict. Harold was, therefore, chosen, and of his right to wield the sceptre by virtue of this choice, viewed in the light of Anglo-Saxon history, there can be and there is no question.

The evidence that he, and not William, was appointed by Edward to the succession, is nearly as strong as that which supports his choice by the people. The Anglo-Saxon writers assert it, and the more trustworthy Norman historians admit it. Dr. Lingard says: "A report had been circulated that Edward, on his deathbed, had appointed Harold to be his successor."[2] On the same page, in a note, he adds: "I am much inclined to believe this report, not only on the testimony of the English writers,[3] but because its truth is acknowledged by the enemies of Harold. *Edvardi dono in ipsius fine.*—"Guil Pict.," 135. *Ægrotus princeps concessit.*—"Order. Vit.," 492.

But grant that he was the choice of the people and of Edward, we are confronted with what is assumed to be a fact, and has obtained currency as such in learned circles, namely, that Stigand, a suspended prelate, officiated at his coronation. On this subject the authority of Dr. Lingard ought to have great weight, as he has thoroughly sifted the evidence bearing on it. "On account of the suspension of Stigand, the ceremony was performed by Aldred,

[1] Lingard, vol. i., p. 306. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Chron. Sax*, 172; *Hoved.*, 449; *Eadmer*, 5; *Sim. Dun.*, 193; *Al. Bev.*, 126; *Flor.*, 633; *Hist. Elien.*, 515.

the Archbishop of York."[1] The authorities relied on for this statement are Ingulf,[2] Florence[3] and "Hist. Elien."[4] The note to the text is so pointed that we cannot do better than quote it: "In a fact," he says, "which publicly took place in England, the native writers are more entitled to credit than foreigners. The Normans say Harold was crowned by Stigand,[5] and the statement is supported by the figures on the tapestry of Bayeux.[6] But they give only the reports prevalent in Normandy, and William, anxious to interest the religion of his subjects in his own favor, would readily countenance the notion that his rival had been crowned by a suspended prelate."[7]

The news of Harold's coronation, thus legitimate and regular, was not long in reaching William. Thierry's account of his reception of it, gives such an insight into his character that we gladly quote it: "When the duke received this great news, he was in his park, near Rouen, trying some new arrows. All at once he appeared pensive, gave his bow to one of his people, and crossing the Seine, repaired to his palace at Rouen; he stopped in the great hall, and walked to and fro, now seating himself, now rising and changing his seat and position, unable to remain in any one place. None of his people dared to approach him; all remained apart, looking at each other in silence. An officer, admitted to more than ordinary familiarity with William, happening to enter, the others pressed around him to learn from him the cause of the great agitation they remarked in the duke. 'I know nothing certain,' answered the officer, 'but we shall soon learn.' Then advancing alone to William: 'My lord,' he said, 'why not communicate your intelligence to us? It is reported in the town that the King of England is dead, and that Harold has seized upon the kingdom, thus breaking his faith to you.' 'They report truly,' answered the duke; 'my anger is touching the death of Edward, and the injury Harold has done me.' 'Sir,' returned the courtier, 'chafe not at a thing that may be amended; for Edward's death there is no remedy, but there is one for the wrong that Harold has done; yours is the right; you have good knights; strike boldly; well begun is half done.'"[8]

From this it was clear that William was acting a part, a part that was intended to impress those who witnessed it that he regarded the oath in the council hall of Bayeux as something terri-

---

[1] Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 307.
[2] Page 68. [3] Page 63. [4] Page 515.
[5] *Non sancta consecratione*—Stigandi, *Guil, Pict.*, 105.
[6] Lancelot, 427.
[7] Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 307.
[8] Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., pp. 153, 154.

ble and solemn. Terrible, indeed, it was, but chiefly for William, who knew that Harold would attach no obligation to the oath, and that in the event of the death of Edward, he would do exactly what he was reported to have done. The truth was, William had long meditated the conquest of England, and to this end had labored industriously to create a public opinion at home and in Rome, that would, at least, give a color of right to an appeal to the sword. Title by descent he had none, and though the lies of his co-conspirators might work mischief, they would hardly stand the investigation to which he knew they would be subjected when he brought his cause before the papal court, and the approbation of Rome he should have, if possible.

To strengthen his position still more, he dispatched an envoy to Harold to remind him of his oath. The envoy, when granted an audience, said: "William, Duke of Normandy, reminds thee of the oath which thou didst swear to him, by mouth and by hand, upon good and holy relics."[1] The reply was worthy of the warrior king and the gallant race that committed to his care their lives, fortunes and good name. "It is true," said he, "that I swore such an oath to Duke William, but I swore it under compulsion. I promised that which did not belong to me, and which I could not perform; for my royalty is not mine, and I cannot divest myself of it without the consent of the country; nor, without the consent of the country, can I marry a foreign wife. As to my sister, whom the Duke claims, to marry her to one of his chiefs, she died this year; would he have me send her body?"[2]

Harold never denied taking the oath, and that Edward regarded it as a nullity, his naming him as his successor on his death-bed is the best evidence. Would he who feared God and devoted his whole life to His service, on the threshold of eternity, choose one to wear his crown who could not do so without being a sacrilegious perjurer? And yet that he did choose him is attested by the most reliable historians, for whose truth the scholarship of Dr. Lingard is a guarantee. What the king said on the occasion of Harold's report proves that he accepted the report as true. England at that time so received it, and England's greatest historian, Dr. Lingard, referring to the promise, uses the phrase, "compelled by the necessity of the situation," and to the oath, "constrained to swear."[3]

But grant that the oath was voluntary, it was better in the breach than the observance, for it required him to do an infamous

[1] *Chron. de Normandie*, p. 229; *Robert of Gloucester*, p. 358; *Chron. Pictav.*, p. 285.

[2] *Roger de Hoveden*, p. 449; *Eadmer*, p. 6; *Ranulf Higden*, p. 285.

[3] Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 301.

act, namely, to betray his country, and that, too, to a bastard ruffian and a robber race. If the second commandment was understood then as now, Harold would have been guilty of a most terrible sin by the observance of that oath. If loyalty and patriotism were understood then as now, the ages would have execrated his memory, and we of to-day in this grand republic would place him on the same pedestal with our own Benedict Arnold. We have yet to learn that the people of the eleventh century did not understand the second commandment, loyalty and patriotism, and until we are made conscious of our error, we will applaud Harold for disregarding that oath.

Worthless, however, as it unquestionably was, it was fast accomplishing the purposes for which it was secured. It was published far and wide by the witnesses to it, who were numerous, influential and interested. Some of them may have regarded it as a free act, for it had all the appearances of one. Few there were among the great mass of the people who did not believe Harold a perjured usurper. Many shuddered at the mention of his name, and many felt that no vengeance would be too terrible for the offence of which they were duped into believing him guilty. Those who were not dupes were knaves, and between the dupes and knaves the reputation of glorious Harold and his glorious country suffered. The evils that "the good King Edward" foresaw and that he besought heaven to save him from witnessing, were now about to burst forth.

William made no delay in presenting the case he had been making before the papal court. The time was opportune; the microscopic eye of the great Hildebrand was on the evils of Church and State, and though panoramic in range, the cause of the duke concentrated all its power on unhappy England. Thierry states the demand and the reasons for it so clearly that we deem it best to cite him. He says: "The negotiation, commenced with the Roman Church by Robert de Jumièges and the monk Lanfranc, was actively pursued from the moment that a deacon of Lisieux had borne beyond the mountains the news of the alleged crime of Harold and the English nation. The Duke of Normandy laid an accusation of sacrilege against his enemy before the pontifical court; he demanded that England should be placed under the ban of the Church and declared the property of the first occupant sanctioned by the Pope. He founded his demand upon three principal causes of complaint: the murder of young Alfred and his Norman companions, the expulsion of the Archbishop Robert from the See of Canterbury, and the perjury of King Harold. He also pretended to have incontestable claims to the royalty in vir-

tue of his relationship to King Edward, and the intentions which the king had, he said, manifested on his death-bed."[1]

Admitting the truth of the foregoing statement, what is there in the reasons alleged for the demand? We have already given the history of the oath, and endeavored to show its nullity. The relationship of the bastard to Edward ought to have cut no figure in the case, though it seems it did, if we are to credit Guizot.[2] That Harold, and not he, was named by the dying king, we have established. The murder of Alfred and his Norman companions, and the expulsion of Robert de Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury, remain to be considered.

In the year 1037, when Harold, the natural son of Canute, ruled in England, a letter bearing the forged signature of Emma was received by her two sons, Alfred and Edward, then exiles in Normandy, requesting one of them to come to England, and assuring them that the Anglo-Saxons were anxious to throw off the yoke of the Dane and restore the ancient dynasty. Alfred, the younger of the two, accepted the invitation, and soon set out accompanied by six hundred soldiers. On landing, he was met by Godwin, who promised to conduct him to his mother. Resting over night at Guilford, on the road to where Emma resided, the followers of Alfred were divided into small squads and provided with lodgings and everything necessary for their comfort. Godwin, on parting with the prince, promised to see him in the morning. In the middle of the night, without the knowledge of Godwin, who, according to the monk of St. Omer, knew nothing of their danger, the partisans of Harold arrived, surprised the Normans in their beds, and when day dawned proceeded to execute a vengeance on them inhuman as any in the records of savage life. Alfred was brought before Harold, and then conveyed in a disgraceful manner to the isle of Ely, where, after undergoing a mock trial, his eyes were plucked out by order of the court. A few days after he died, but whether from his injuries or the weapon of the assassin is not known.

Three or four years afterwards, in the reign of Hardicanute, Alfric, the Archbishop of York, with whom Godwin had some difference, charged him with the murder of Alfred. He was tried in the usual way and acquitted. The monk of St. Omer, who had a clear and full knowledge of the facts, exculpates him, and Edward, whose brother Alfred was, in two of his charters charges the crime on Harold the bastard Dane. However, notwithstanding the testimony of the monk of St. Omer, notwithstanding the evidence of Edward's charters, the treachery of Godwin was the

[1] Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., p. 157.

[2] Guizot's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 94.

war-cry of the Normans, who in their blind resentment accused the Saxons rather than the Danes of the massacre of their countrymen![1]

But grant the guilt of Godwin and the Saxons, twenty-nine years had passed away, and twenty-four of these were as glorious as could be found in the history of any of the continental nations of that age. To this day, the reign of Edward has been regarded as a model one. Why should this act of barbarity be raked from the embers of the past, when nearly all those who had any participation in it were dead? The sins of nations, like those of individuals, should be forgiven when there are evidences of amendment. If, indeed, chastisement and enlightenment were needed, William ought to be the last selected for the work. It ill became the man who cut off the hands and legs of inoffensive prisoners, because of an allusion by their countrymen to his unlawful begetting, to present himself to the Papal court as a proper person to avenge barbarity and teach civilization.[2] Had the Papal court known him, it would have administered a stinging rebuke.

The expulsion of Robert de Jumièges, Archbishop of Canterbury, is a fiction. He did not stand on the order of his going, but went, went as fast as his horse could carry him. The reported probable failure of the damnable scheme of his countrymen to keep the Anglo-Saxons divided, was sufficient cause for his flight. Had he remained until the reconciliation of Edward and Godwin, and the agreement to a decree banishing all the Normans from the kingdom, it is likely, unless he had made himself particularly obnoxious, the influence of the king would have obtained an exemption for him. It was a bad conscience that expelled him, and if the Anglo-Saxons opposed his return, their reasons were good. An enemy of their manners and customs, and, doubtless, an advocate of the claims of a foreign bastard to their throne, who will blame them for refusing to receive him? If the Anglo-Saxons had some of the manhood and patriotism of which we boast so loudly, did they not deserve praise instead of censure?

But while we applaud their action, with the knowledge of the facts that we now have, we make no complaint against the court that entertained this reason. When the circumstances of the time and the forces at work are considered, it is easy to understand how it could be deceived. If in this age of steam and electricity, of commerce and travel, false ideas of remote, and even contiguous nations prevail, who will be surprised to find them in an age with none of these advantages, and when the strongest motives that can sway depraved peoples were enlisted for their dissemination?

[1] Thierry's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i., p. 118.

[2] Benoit de St. Maure, iii., p. 93; Willelm Gemet, p. 276.

Thierry tells us that the journey from Canterbury was at this time one of great difficulty, and we know that there was very little intercourse between Rome and England, while Italy swarmed with Normans of every rank and condition. They had taken possession of many of her cities, and the loyalty they professed for the Church gained for them the confidence of eminent ecclesiastics. Poor isolated England was at their mercy.

The papal court devoted some time to the consideration of these reasons, and to the evils with which, it was said, the Anglo-Saxon Church was afflicted. That there were some in that church who were guilty of scandalous practices admits of no doubt, but that these practices were grossly exaggerated by Norman ecclesiastics and adventurers, is certain. The grand record made by it in every century—and that often under most disadvantageous circumstances—since the conversion of Ethelbert, was not much tarnished in the twenty-four years of Edward's reign. Whatever evils there were, the hate and cupidity of Dane and Norman magnified a hundredfold. The victim of these two thieves, its reputation abroad was unenviable. The Roman official known as the devil's advocate could learn a lesson from them that would impart to his advocacy the characteristics of his potent client.

The court ought, however, to have had pretty accurate information on the condition of the Anglo-Saxon Church, for on the occasion of Archbishop Aldred's return from Rome, after he had procured the pallium, he was accompanied by two cardinals, whose business it was to obtain correct knowledge on the subject. These cardinals were received by Edward with every mark of respect, and throughout the kingdom with a reverence and welcome worthy of the race of a Boniface, a Bede and an Alfred. This was in the year 1060 or 1061, and, we think, no change for the worse took place in the few following years. The papal court, therefore, had other than tainted testimony on the state of the Church, but on the other reasons of William's demand it had only Norman testimony, for Harold made no defence.

Doubtless with this testimony a strong case was made for William, and Harold's refusal to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court made it still stronger.[1] According to the custom of the time, it had jurisdiction; the temporal power was subordinate to the spiritual, and the refusal to obey its summons was, therefore, a grave offence. The Church in the formative period of society had extraordinary powers, and now, in the reign of Alexander II., that the master mind and master heart of the mighty Hildebrand governed, it was determined to assert them. While it made some

[1] Ingulf, p. 69.

mistakes—mistakes unavoidable under the circumstances—it was an effective barrier against the evils inseparable from the agitation, ignorance, cupidity and brutality of the elements that took possession of Europe after the downfall of the Western Empire of the Romans. It was long before this action, and long after it, the supreme court of Christian States, and it was therefore Harold's duty to obey its summons. His failure to do so may have turned the scale against him. We of to-day may decry this power, but we cannot deny the fact, and if the consent of people and rulers confers legitimacy, it was as legitimate as is the Supreme Court of the United States. "Nations," says Dr. Fredet, "oppressed by their sovereigns had no other resource than the protection of the Pope, and sovereigns who wished to act as tyrants had no other check than his authority, which they generally acknowledged, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal concerns."[1] Guizot, in his history of civilization, asserts that "the Church, however imperfect might be her notions of morality and justice, was infinitely superior to the temporal government." He further adds, that "the cry of the people continually urged her to take its place," and that "her interference was, often, just and salutary."

The conclusion reached was favorable to William. A consecrated banner was sent to him, along with other evidences of approval of the invasion of England. The news from Rome was received at a time when he had learned that however the people might condemn Harold, they were unwilling to bear the expense of a war against him and his loyal subjects. Pending the result of his appeal to Rome, he, with the advice of his council, convoked an assembly of the people. After unfolding his plans, he requested assistance in furtherance of them. The assembly positively refused the request, and, in order to carry his point, he had to have recourse to an artifice which proved as successful as the one resorted to in the case of Harold. One by one the members were called into his presence, and the consent that he failed to gain collectively he gained individually.

Now, however, that the consecrated banner was fluttering in the breeze and all its gorgeous emblazonry glittering in the sun, there was no longer need of artifice. Enthusiasm at once rose to fever heat, and the simple religious, as they gazed on it, felt like that grand assembly of all classes, from prince to peasant, who, twenty-nine years later, at Clermont, greeted the utterances of Pope Urban with the cry, "God wills it; God wills it." Those whose sole purpose was self-aggrandizement, and with whom the justice or injustice of the invasion had not a feather's weight, affected to

[1] Fredet's *Modern History*, page 513.

be inflamed with the same holy ardor. The language of Alexander II. was tortured into words of blood, flame and rapine. Harold was a sacrilegious usurper, his people untamed and untamable barbarians. Contributions poured in from all ranks of the people, and pious old mothers brought their sons, fondly believing that in the event of their fall a crown of glory awaited them. From the various surrounding nations came thieves, cutthroats, ravishers, tramps, adventurers and men whose profession was war. If we are to credit some very learned historians, William held out as an inducement to all the pillage of England. Domains, castles, towns, rich heiresses and fat bishoprics were demanded as a condition of enlistment or contribution. Thierry, on the authority of the Norman Chronicle, says that William rejected no one and satisfied all. Guizot, more specific, says that "he promised lands, castles, women, plunder; he even sold an English bishopric to a certain Rèmi of Fécamp for a ship and twenty warriors."[1] His speech just before the battle of Hastings, which we have on the authority of Normans, more than sustains the statement of Guizot. The worst guerrilla chief of the late rebellion could not improve on it. Here it is: "Fight your best, and put every one to death; for if we conquer we shall all be rich. What I gain, you gain; if I conquer, you conquer; if I take the land, you will share it. Know, however, that I am not come here merely to take that which is my due, but to revenge our whole nation for the felon acts, perjuries and treason of these English. They put to death the Danes, men and women, in the night of Saint Brice. They decimated the companions of my relation, Alfred, and put himself to death. On, then, in God's name, and chastise them for all their misdeeds."[2]

And now that an army of sixty thousand men, with such vicious elements, is ready to cross the channel, we are done with the events and causes that led to the invasion. Our presentment of them, though very imperfect, cannot fail to convince the impartial that so far from being grounded in justice, the invasion was one of the greatest crimes against the rights of nations of which we have any record. The reasons urged for it were, as we have endeavored to show, false or worthless, though made to appear good before the tribunal that passed on them.

In after years, when the work of conquest was secure, William made no claim of title to the crown save that which his sword had won. In the horrible hour of death, when all his terrible crimes

---

[1] Guizot's *History of England*, vol. i., p. 96.

[2] *Guill. Pictav.*, p. 201; *Chron. de Normandie*, pp. 232, 233. [William of Poitou's (*Guill. Pictav.*) account of the speech is quite different. The *Chronique de Normandie* is merely a possible translation of Wace's *Roman de Rou*.—Ed.].

confronted him in all their magnitude; when the ghost of glorious Harold and the ghosts of his murdered people would not down; when the victims of pillage, lust and brutality hovered round him; when despoiled prelates, monks and nuns whispered sacrilege into his ears; when widows and orphans, ragged, hungry and diseased, rose before his agonized vision; when thus tortured and conscience-smitten, where was the murder of Alfred and his Norman companions, where the expulsion of Robert de Jumièges and the perjury of the English king, where the promise of Edward and his relationship to him, and where the barbarism of the Anglo-Saxon people and the pollution of the Anglo-Saxon Church? Did they now justify the invasion, did they confer a title to the throne, or were they in the awful catalogue of his crimes? Let his dying words answer: "I leave the kingdom of England to no one, because I did not inherit it, but acquired it by force, and at the price of blood; I replace it in the hands of God." In other words, "I leave the kingdom of England to no one; I never had a title to it; I never had a valid reason to invade it; it was mine by the might of the sword, mine by murder, mine by pillage, mine by sacrilege, mine by every species of outrage, mine by the power of the devil; I replace it in the hands of God."

In the light of history, in the light of the facts as we have unfolded them, this is no strained construction, no intemperate declamation. Whatever literary Chesterfields may say of it, we proclaim it the plain, unvarnished truth. The facts have spoken it, and in their presence, averse as we are to harsh and whetted words, we characterize William, in every stage of preparation for the work of invasion, as a cool, calculating, hypocritical, determined villain, without a virtue, without a conscience and without a church save for self. This was the language of the Anglo-Saxon people and of the Anglo-Saxon Church, a church which, if we are to credit Montelambert, was the brightest gem in the tiara of Peter. It is the verdict of posterity.

We are aware that he has apologists and even admirers, but so has Henry II., his imitator in the work of conquest, so has Henry the VIII., his imitator in sacrilege, and so has Oliver Cromwell, his successful rival in all iniquity. Recently a monument was erected to his memory at Falaise. If intended to make amends for the ingratitude and inhumanity of his children and of his countrymen, who deserted him in his dying hour, and left him to the care of men who fled, after pilfering his apartments and throwing his naked remains on the floor, we most heartily approve of it. If intended to make amends for the infamy of the sordid wretches who refused to defray the expenses of his funeral, we have no words of censure. If intended to make amends for the brutality of those

who, in their haste to be rid of him, burst his coffinless body in trying to force it into a grave too small for it, we say well done. But if, however, intended to change or rebuke the verdict of posterity, it was a waste of money and artistic skill. The praise which that monument evidences is as powerless to alter the judgment formed of him, in shaping the events and causes that led to the invasion, as was the incense burnt at his grave to destroy or neutralize the stench arising from his bursted carcass. The verdict is unchangeable. MICHAEL HENNESSY.

THE BULL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON ANGLICAN ORDERS.

LEO, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD. IN PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

WE have dedicated to the welfare of the noble English nation no small portion of the Apostolic care and charity by which, helped by His grace, we endeavor to fulfil the office and follow in the footsteps of "the Great Shepherd of the sheep,"[1] our Lord Jesus Christ. The letter which last year we sent to "the English seeking the kingdom of Christ in the unity of the faith" is a special witness of our good will toward England. In it we recalled the memory of the ancient union of her people with Mother Church, and we strove to hasten the day of a happy reconciliation by stirring up men's hearts to offer diligent prayer to God. And again, more recently, when it seemed good to us to treat more fully the unity of the Church in a general letter, England had not the last place in our mind, in the hope that our teaching might both strengthen Catholics and bring the saving light to those divided from us.

It is pleasing to acknowledge the generous way in which our zeal and plainness of speech, inspired by no mere human motives, have met the approval of the English people, and this testifies not less to their courtesy than to the solicitude of many for their eternal salvation.

[1] Heb. xiii., 20.

With the same mind and intention we have now determined to turn our consideration to a matter of no less importance, which is closely connected with the same subject and with our desires. For an opinion already prevalent, confirmed more than once by the action and constant practice of the Church, maintained that when in England, shortly after it was rent from the centre of Christian unity, a new rite for conferring holy orders was publicly introduced under Edward VI., the true sacrament of orders as instituted by Christ lapsed and with it the hierarchical succession. For some time, however, and in these last years especially, a controversy has sprung up as to whether the sacred orders conferred according to the Edwardine ordinal possessed the nature and effect of a sacrament; those in favor of the absolute validity, or of a doubtful validity, being not only certain Anglican writers, but some few Catholics, chiefly non-English. The consideration of the excellency of the Christian priesthood moved Anglican writers in this matter, desirous as they were that their own people should not lack the twofold power over the body of Christ. Catholic writers were impelled by a wish to smooth the way for the return of Anglicans to holy unity. Both, indeed, thought that in view of studies brought up to the level of recent research and of new documents rescued from oblivion, it was not inopportune to re-examine the question by our authority. And we, not disregarding such desires and opinions, and, above all, obeying the dictates of apostolic charity, have considered that nothing should be left untried that might in any way tend to preserve souls from injury or procure their advantage.

It has, therefore, pleased us to graciously permit the cause to be re-examined, so that through the extreme care taken in the new examination all doubt, or even shadow of doubt, should be removed for the future. To this end we commissioned a certain number of men noted for their learning and ability, whose opinions in this matter were known to be divergent, to state the grounds of their judgments in writing. We, then, having summoned them to our person, directed them to interchange writings and further to investigate and discuss all that was necessary for a full knowledge of the matter. We were careful also that they should be able to re-examine all documents bearing on this question which were known to exist in the Vatican archives, to search for new ones, and even to have at their disposal all acts relating to this subject which are preserved by the holy office, or, as it is called, the supreme council, and to consider whatever had, up to this time, been adduced by learned men on both sides. We ordered them, when prepared in this way, to meet together in special sessions. These, to the number of twelve, were held under the presidency of one of

the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, appointed by ourselves, and all were invited to free discussion. Finally we directed that the acts of these meetings, together with all other documents, should be submitted to our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the same council, so that when all had studied the whole subject and discussed it in our presence each might give his opinion.

This order for discussing the matter having been determined upon, it was necessary, with a view to forming a true estimate of the real state of the question, to enter upon it after careful inquiry as to how the matter stood in relation to the prescription and settled custom of the Apostolic See, the origin and force of which custom it was undoubtedly of great importance to determine. For this reason, in the first place, the principal documents in which our predecessors, at the request of Queen Mary, exercised their special care for the reconciliation of the English Church were considered. Thus Julius III. sent Cardinal Reginald Pole, an Englishman, and illustrious in many ways, to be his legate a latere for the purpose, "as his angel of peace and love," and gave him extraordinary and unusual mandates or faculties and directions for his guidance. These Paul IV. confirmed and explained. And here, to interpret rightly the force of these documents, it is necessary to lay it down as a fundamental principle that they were certainly not intended to deal with an abstract state of things, but with a specific and concrete issue. For since the faculties given by these Pontiffs to the Apostolic Legate had reference to England only, and to the state of religion therein, and since the rules of action were laid down by them at the request of the said Legate, they could not have been mere directions for determining the necessary conditions for the validity of ordinations in general. They must pertain directly to providing for holy orders in the said kingdom, as the recognized condition of the circumstances and times demanded. This, besides being clear from the nature and form of the said documents, is also obvious from the fact that it would have been altogether irrelevant to thus instruct the Legate—one whose learning had been conspicuous in the Council of Trent—as to the conditions necessary for the bestowal of the sacrament of orders.

To all rightly estimating these matters it will not be difficult to understand why, in the letters of Julius III., issued to the Apostolic Legate on March 8, 1554, there is a distinct mention, first, of those who, "rightfully and lawfully promoted," might be maintained in their orders, and then of others who, "not promoted to sacred orders," might "be promoted if they were found to be worthy and fitting subjects." For it is clearly and definitely noted, as indeed was the case, that there were two classes of men; the first, those who had really received sacred orders either before the secession

of Henry VIII., or, if after it and by ministers infected by error and schism, still according to the accustomed Catholic rite; the second, those who were initiated according to the Edwardine ordinal, who on that account could be "promoted," since they had received an ordination which was null. And that the mind of the Pope was this and nothing else is clearly confirmed by the letter of the said Legate (January 29, 1555), subdelegating his faculties to the Bishop of Norwich. Moreover, what the letters of Julius III. themselves say about freely using the Pontifical faculties, even in behalf of those who had received their consecration "*minus rite* and not according to the accustomed form of the Church," is to be especially noted. By this expression those only could be meant who had been consecrated according to the Edwardine rite, since, besides it and the Catholic form, there was then no other in England.

This becomes even still clearer when we consider the legation which, on the advice of Cardinal Pole, the sovereign princes, Philip and Mary, sent to the Pope in Rome in the month of February, 1555. The royal ambassadors—three men, "most illustrious and endowed with every virtue," of whom one was Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely—were charged to inform the Pope more fully as to the religious condition of the country, and especially to beg that he would ratify and confirm what the Legate had been at pains to effect, and had succeeded in effecting, toward the reconciliation of the kingdom with the Church. For this purpose all the necessary written evidence and the pertinent parts of the new ordinal were submitted to the Pope. The legation having been splendidly received, and their evidence having been "diligently discussed" by several of the cardinals, "after mature deliberation," Paul IV. issued his bull, Prœclara carissimi, on June 20th of that same year. In this, while giving full force and approbation to what Pole had done, it is ordered in the matter of the ordinations as follows: "Those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical orders . . . . by any one but a bishop validly and lawfully ordained" are bound to receive those orders again. But who those bishops not "validly and lawfully ordained" were had been made sufficiently clear by the foregoing documents and the faculties used in the said matter by the Legate; those, namely, who have been promoted to the episcopate, as others to other orders "not according to the accustomed form of the Church," or, as the Legate himself wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, "the form and intention of the Church" not having been observed. These were certainly those promoted according to the new form of rite, to the examination of which the cardinals specially deputed had given their careful attention. Neither should the passage much

to the point in the same Pontifical letter be overlooked where, together with others needing dispensation, are enumerated those "who had obtained as well orders as benefices nulliter et de facto." For to obtain orders nulliter means the same as by an act null and void, that is, invalid, as the very meaning of the word and as common parlance require. This is especially clear when the word is used in the same way about orders as about "ecclesiastical benefices." These, by the undoubted teaching of the sacred canons, were clearly null if given with any vitiating defect. Moreover, when some doubted as to who, according to the mind of the Pontiff, could be called and considered bishops, "validly and lawfully ordained," the said Pope shortly after, on October 30th, issued further letters in the form of a brief, and said: "We, wishing to remove the doubt and to opportunely provide for the peace of conscience of those who, during the schism, were promoted to orders by expressing more clearly the mind and intention which we had in the aforesaid letters, declare that only those bishops and archbishops who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church cannot be said to have been validly and lawfully ordained." Unless this declaration had applied to the actual case in England, that is to say, to the Edwardine ordinal, the Pope would certainly have done nothing by these last letters for the removal of doubt and the restoration of peace of conscience. Further, it was in this sense that the Legate understood the documents and commands of the Apostolic See, and duly and conscientiously obeyed them, and the same was done by Queen Mary and the rest who helped to restore Catholicism to its former state.

The authority of Julius III. and Paul IV., which we have quoted, clearly shows the origin of that practice which has been observed without interruption for more than three centuries, that ordinations conferred according to the Edwardine rite should be considered null and void. This practice is fully proved by the numerous cases of absolute reordination according to the Catholic rite even in Rome. In the observance of this practice we have a proof directly affecting the matter in hand. For if by any chance doubt should remain as to the true sense in which these Pontifical documents are to be understood, the principle holds good that "custom is the best interpreter of law." Since in the Church it has ever been a constant and established rule that it is sacrilegious to repeat the sacrament of order, it never could have come to pass that the Apostolic See should have silently acquiesced and tolerated such a custom. But not only did the Apostolic See tolerate this practice, but approved and sanctioned it as often as any particular case arose which called for its judgment in the matter. We adduce two facts of this kind out of many which have from time to

time been submitted to the Supreme Council of the Holy Office. The first was in 1684 of a certain French Calvinist, and the other in 1704 of John Clement Gordon, both of whom had received their orders according to the Edwardine ritual. In the first case, after a searching investigation, the consultors, not a few in number, gave in writing their answers—or as they call it, their vota—and the rest unanimously agreed with their conclusion, "for the invalidity of the ordination," and only on account of reasons of opportuneness did the Cardinals deem it well to answer by a "dilata" (viz., not to formulate the conclusion at the moment). The same documents were called into use and considered again in the examination of the second case, and additional written statements of opinion were also obtained from consultors, and the most eminent doctors of the Sorbonne and of Douai were likewise asked for their opinion. No safeguard which wisdom and prudence could suggest to insure the thorough sifting of the question was neglected.

And here it is important to observe that although Gordon himself, whose case it was, and some of the consultors had adduced, among the reasons which went to prove the invalidity, the ordination of Parker, according to their own ideas about it, in the delivery of the decision this reason was altogether set aside, as documents of incontestable authenticity proved. Nor in pronouncing the decision was weight given to any other reason than the "defect of form and intention," and in order that the judgment concerning this form might be more certain and complete, precaution was taken that a copy of the Anglican ordinal should be submitted to examination, and that with it should be collated the ordination forms gathered together from the various Eastern and Western rites. Then Clement XI., himself, with the unanimous vote of the Cardinals concerned, on the "Feria V.,"[1] April 17, 1704, decreed: "John Clement Gordon shall be ordained from the beginning and unconditionally to all the orders, even sacred orders, and chiefly of priesthood, and in case he has not been confirmed, he shall first receive the sacrament of Confirmation." It is important to bear in mind that this judgment was in no wise determined by the omission of the tradition of instruments, for in such a case, according to the established custom, the direction would have been to repeat the ordination conditionally, and still more important it is

[1] [The term "Feria V." here used has a technical value. Ordinary meetings of the Supreme Council for the ratification of decrees usually take place on the Wednesdays, and are marked "Feria IV." But the special and solemn sessions which, in matters of graver import, are held in the presence and under the presidency of the Pope himself, who thus in a special way makes the decisions his own, take place on Thursdays, and are marked "Feria V."—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.]

to note that the judgment of the Pontiff applies universally to all Anglican ordinations, because, although it refers to a particular case, it is not based upon any reason special to that case, but upon the defect of form, which defect equally affects all these ordinations, so much so that when similar cases subsequently came up for decision the same decree of Clement XI. was quoted as the norma.

Hence, it must be clear to every one, that the controversy lately revived had been already definitely settled by the Apostolic See, and that it is to the insufficient knowledge of these documents that we must perhaps attribute the fact that any Catholic writer should have considered it still an open question. But, as we stated at the beginning, there is nothing we so deeply and ardently desire as to be of help to men of good will by showing them the greatest consideration and charity. Wherefore, we ordered that the Anglican ordinal, which is the essential point of the whole matter, should be once more most carefully examined.

In the examination of any rite for the effecting and administering of a sacrament, distinction is rightly made between the part which is ceremonial and that which is essential, usually called the matter and form. All know that the sacraments of the New Law, as sensible and efficient signs of invisible grace, ought both to signify the grace which they effect and effect the grace which they signify. Although the signification ought to be found in the whole essential rite—that is to say, in the matter and form—it still pertains chiefly to the form, since the matter is the part which is not determined by itself, but which is determined by the form. And this appears still more clearly in the sacrament of orders, the matter of which, in so far as we have to consider it in this case, is the imposition of hands, which, indeed, by itself signifies nothing definite, and is equally used for several orders and for Confirmation. But the words which, until recently, were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination, namely, "Receive the Holy Ghost," certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred order of priesthood or its grace and power, which is chiefly the power of "consecrating and of offering the true body and blood of the Lord" (Council of Trent, sess. XXIII., de Sacr. Ord., can. 1) in that sacrifice which is no "nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross" (*Ibid.*, sess. XXII., de Sacrif. Missæ, can. 3). This form had, indeed, afterward added to it the words, "for the office and work of a priest," etc., but this rather shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived that the first form was defective and inadequate. But even if this addition could give to the form its due signification, it was ntroduced too late, as a century had already elapsed since the

adoption of the Edwardine ordinal, for, as the hierarchy had become extinct, there remained no power of ordaining. In vain has help been recently sought for the plea of the validity of orders from the other prayers of the same ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show this to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, let this argument suffice for all: from them has been deliberately removed whatever sets forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite. That form, consequently, cannot be considered apt or sufficient for the sacrament which omits what it ought essentially to signify.

The same holds good of episcopal consecration. For, to the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," not only were the words, "for the office and work of a bishop," etc., added at a later period, but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite. Nor is anything gained by quoting the prayer of the preface, "Almighty God," since it in like manner has been stripped of the words which denote the summum sacerdotium. It is not here relevant to examine whether the episcopate be a completion of the priesthood or an order distinct from it, or whether when bestowed, as they say, per saltum, on one who is not a priest, it has or has not its effect. But the episcopate, undoubtedly by the institution of Christ, most truly belongs to the sacrament of orders, and constitutes the sacerdotium in the highest degree, namely, that which by the teaching of the Holy Fathers and our liturgical customs is called the "summum sacerdotium, sacri ministerii summa." So it comes to pass that, as the sacrament of orders and the true sacerdotium of Christ were utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite, and hence the sacerdotium is in no wise conferred truly and validly in the episcopal consecration of the same rite, for the like reason, therefore, the episcopate can in no wise be truly and validly conferred by it, and this the more so because among the first duties of the episcopate is that of ordaining ministers for the Holy Eucharist and sacrifice.

For the full and accurate understanding of the Anglican ordinal, besides what we have noted as to some of its parts, there is nothing more pertinent than to consider carefully the circumstances under which it was composed and publicly authorized. It would be tedious to enter into details, nor is it necessary to do so, as the history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects, and as to the end they had in view. Being fully cognizant of the necessary connection between faith and worship, between "the law of believing and the law of praying," under a pretext of

returning to the primitive form, they corrupted the liturgical order in many ways to suit the errors of the reformers. For this reason in the whole ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the sacerdotium and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected was deliberately removed and struck out. In this way the native character—or spirit, as it is called—of the ordinal clearly manifests itself. Hence, if, vitiated in its origin, it was wholly insufficient to confer orders, it was impossible that in the course of time it could become sufficient, since no change had taken place. In vain those who from the time of Charles I. have attempted to hold some kind of sacrifice or of priesthood have made some additions to the ordinal. In vain also has been the contention of that small section of the Anglican body formed in recent times, that the said ordinal can be understood and interpreted in a sound and orthodox sense. Such efforts, we affirm, have been and are made in vain, and for this reason, that any words in the Anglican ordinal, as it now is, which lend themselves to ambiguity, cannot be taken in the same sense as they possess in the Catholic rite. For once a new rite has been initiated in which, as we have seen, the sacrament of orders is adulterated or denied, and from which all idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected, the formula, "Receive the Holy Spirit," no longer holds good; because the Spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the sacrament, and the words "for the office and work of a priest or bishop" and the like no longer hold good, but remain as words without the reality which Christ instituted.

Several of the more shrewd Anglican interpreters of the ordinal have perceived the force of this argument, and they openly urge it against those who take the ordinal in a new sense and vainly attach to the orders conferred thereby a value and efficacy which they do not possess. By this same argument is refuted the contention of those who think that the prayer "Almighty God, giver of all good things," which is found at the beginning of the ritual action, might suffice as a legitimate form of orders, even in the hypothesis that it might be held to be sufficient in a Catholic rite approved by the Church.

With this inherent defect of form is joined the defect of intention, which is equally essential to the sacrament. The Church does not judge about the mind and intention in so far as it is something by its nature internal; but in so far as it is manifested externally she is bound to judge concerning it. When any one has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and the matter

requisite for effecting or conferring the sacrament, he is considered by the very fact to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine that a sacrament is truly conferred by the ministry of one who is a heretic or unbaptized, provided the Catholic rite be employed. On the other hand, if the rite be changed with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church and of rejecting what the Church does, and what by the institution of Christ belongs to the nature of the sacrament, then it is clear that not only is the necessary intention wanting to the sacrament, but that the intention is adverse to and destructive of the sacrament.

All these matters have been long and carefully considered by ourselves and by our venerable brethren, the Judges of the Supreme Council, of whom it has pleased us to call a special meeting upon the "Feria V.," the 16th day of July last, upon the solemnity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. They with one accord agreed that the question laid before them had been already adjudicated upon with full knowledge of the Apostolic See, and that this renewed discussion and examination of the issues had only served to bring out more clearly the wisdom and accuracy with which that decision had been made. Nevertheless we deemed it well to postpone a decision in order to afford time both to consider whether it would be fitting or expedient that we should make a fresh authoritative declaration upon the matter, and to humbly pray for a fuller measure of Divine guidance. Then, considering that this matter of practice, although already decided, had been by certain persons, for whatever reason, recalled into discussion, and that thence it might follow that a pernicious error would be fostered in the minds of many who might suppose that they possessed the sacrament and effects of orders, where these are nowise to be found, it has seemed good to us in the Lord to pronounce our judgment.

Wherefore, strictly adhering in this matter to the decrees of the Pontiffs, our predecessors, and confirming them most fully, and, as it were, renewing them by our authority, of our own motion and certain knowledge we pronounce and declare that ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void.

It remains for us to say that even as we have entered upon the elucidation of this grave question in the name and in the love of the Great Shepherd, in the same we appeal to those who desire and seek with a sincere heart the possession of a hierarchy and of orders. Perhaps until now aiming at the greater perfection of Christian virtue, and searching more devoutly the Divine Scriptures, and redoubling the fervor of their prayers, they have, never-

theless, hesitated in doubt and anxiety to follow the voice of Christ, which so long has interiorly admonished them. Now they see clearly whither He in His goodness invites them and wills them to come. In returning to His one only fold they will obtain the blessings which they seek, and the consequent helps to salvation of which He has made the Church the dispenser, and, as it were, the constant guardian and promoter of His redemption among the nations. Then indeed "they shall draw waters in joy from the fountains of the Saviour," His wondrous sacraments, whereby His faithful souls have their sins truly remitted, and are restored to the friendship of God, are nourished and strengthened by the heavenly bread, and abound with the most powerful aids for their eternal salvation. May the God of peace, the God of all salvation, in His infinite tenderness enrich and fill with all these blessings those who truly yearn for them. We wish to direct our exhortation and our desires in a special way to those who are ministers of religion in their respective communities. They are men who from their very office take precedence in learning and authority, and who have at heart the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Let them be the first in joyfully submitting to the Divine call, and obey it and furnish a glorious example to others. Assuredly with an exceeding great joy their mother, the Church, will welcome them and will cherish with all her love and care those whom the strength of their generous souls has amid many trials and difficulties led back to her bosom. Nor could words express the recognition which this devoted courage will win for them from the assemblies of the brethren throughout the Catholic world, or what hope or confidence it will merit for them before Christ as their judge, or what reward it will obtain from Him in the heavenly kingdom! And we ourselves in every lawful way shall continue to promote their reconciliation with the Church, in which individuals and masses, as we ardently desire, may find so much for their imitation. In the meantime, by the tender mercy of the Lord our God, we ask and beseech all to strive faithfully to follow in the open path of Divine grace and truth.

We decree that these letters and all things contained therein shall not be liable at any time to be impugned or objected to by reason of fault or any other defect whatsoever of subreption or obreption of our intention, but are and shall be always valid and in force, and shall be inviolably observed both juridically and otherwise by all, of whatsoever degree and pre-eminence; declaring null and void anything which in these matters may happen to be contrariwise attempted, whether wittingly or unwittingly, by any person whatsoever by whatsoever authority or pretext, all things to the contrary notwithstanding.

We will that there shall be given to copies of these letters, even printed, provided that they be signed by a notary and sealed by a person constituted in ecclesiastical dignity, the same credence that would be given to the expression of our will by the showing of these presents.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six, on the ides of September in the nineteenth year of our pontificate.

C. Card. De Ruggiero.

A. Card. Bianchi,
Pro-Datarius.

Visa.

Official of Despatch de Curia: J. dell' Aquila Visconti.

In place of + the seal.
Registered in the Secretariate of Briefs,

I. Cugnoni.

THE CONVERSION OF LONDON.

IT would hardly be too much to say that London is a city without a religion.

It has a vast mass of church-goers, but a curious indefiniteness befogs their religious sense. They may, indeed, and no doubt generally do, preserve the moral sense; but they have no fixed belief, no distinct view of dogma, no certainty about the obligations of the present or the prospects of the future life. They hang on to their hope of a happy hereafter, vague though it be, with an attentive persistency which is the pathetic outcome of the consciousness of immortality in the human heart.

Few are irreligious; some even wish, more or less intensely according to character, to be religious; but they are hampered by a chain of historical circumstances over which they have had no more control than over the physical types of their ancestry.

It is probably better to be of the church-goers, even though overwhelmed by the "seas of doubt" against which Thomas à Kempis warned the disputatious, than to make one of that other and yet vaster body who do not go to church at all. "There are close at our doors," wrote the Bishop of London in his spring pastoral, "hundreds of thousands who are beyond the reach of our ministrations, and who are learning the terrible lesson of doing without religion altogether." Some might say that this godlessness is partly due to the inconclusive nature of the ministrations referred to, no less than to a certain curious stupidity and narrowness of vision very common among the lower class of Londoners; while another undoubted cause is the fact that the passions which sway the multitude swing them away from the magnificent, difficult, but fundamental thought of responsibility to God. There is yet another explanation. A transition time is necessarily a time of discomfort, of doubt, of upheaval; and the present is such a time with England, and especially with its great metropolitan heart, so far, at least, as England and London care at all for the spiritual world of which things seen are but the evidence. Perhaps no one who has not dived into the life of London, and held converse with all and sundry, knows how widely infidelity, in its various fantastic forms, has struck its roots among the lower middle class and the working class. Some there are who have not left themselves enough of the light of reason to argue either way. The besotted denizens of the taverns, growling and swearing away the last traces of having been created only a little lower than the

angels, retain hardly any consciousness of things spiritual; for drink, by undermining the intellect, cuts away the only ladder which leads to that once normal height whence a man can discern the true end and scope of his own existence.

English working-class womankind, even when sober and honest, seldom stands on such a height. The women of the back streets have not a broad outlook nor much forethought. Penny-wise even in temporals, they are far from grasping the doctrine that the real main chance lies in serving God and saving their own souls. The world is their divinity—that world which has so little to give them; and the hope of future glory, sole consolation of the poor old French or Flemish wife in her threadbare, yet ever decent black cloth cloak, is denied to the hapless Londoner with the flaunting rags, the furrowed brow, the coarse voice and gesture. But it is the Londoner's misfortune, rather than her fault, that her hope and worship are pictured so low. Vulgarity is in her blood. England is one of the very few countries in the world where the poor are vulgar. In Continental countries we find it among those classes where its presence is to be expected, but never among the poor. With our people it is probably an effect, as well as a cause, of that heathenesse for which they cannot be held responsible.

It is not, however, of the spiritually submerged that we wish to treat here, except by way of a side-light. A goodly number even of the working-class (mostly men), and by far the larger proportion of the cultured minds of England, are in the throes of that anxious, groping expectation which is not the least hopeful sign of the present times. They are feeling after something more decisive and soul-satisfying in the way of religion than has been given to them yet; feeling, in a word, after the reality of things spiritual, the "It is" of the unseen.

Since Wesley partially awoke the torpid nation in the middle of the last century, various attempts to arrive at the "It is" have been made, have failed and have died away in their futility. The evangelical phase, which long held a certain sway, is passing as it is in the nature of phases to pass. Evangelicalism pointed to God and to heaven, and there was a stir and a fervor about it which justified the phrase "awakened"; but it was bitter, and somehow bitterness does not hold the soul nor attract for long together. The creed still exists. There is even a broken reflection of the old May meetings. Scottish Presbyterians still stand up, and English Nonconformists take counsel together, while the roll and clatter of the callous godless Strand go by; and they voice their desire to secularize schools, to oppose the sacerdotal tendency and to reduce religion to its very lowest terms.

But these meetings are sleepy and decorous now compared with

what they were in the roaring days of the forties and fifties. The successor of Pepys's Christian gentleman hardly ventures to denounce a Pontiff who is so generally admired by Europe as is Leo XIII., and contents himself with poking accusations of insincerity at Ritualistic clergymen who are nearer to hand, and about whom Europe knows and cares less. His speeches may find an echo in suburbs where traditions of the fifties linger, but London does not dance to his piping, nor does the heart of the people quicken to his voice.

Dissent in its various forms, though it is still a power in country districts, especially in the far Celtic West, is losing its hold on the city poor. They look on it as mainly the religion of that *bourgeois* class which is the workingman's bugbear, the class of employers and sweaters; and, moreover, the poor long for beauty and brightness, and to be drawn with the cords of Adam. Alone of all dissenting bodies, the almost brand new Salvation Army makes its mark. Its influence is due to the practice of street preaching, always a prolific cause of successes among a people so essentially sermon-loving as are the English, and yet more to its insistence on holiness of life, for nothing in human nature is more strongly marked than the centripetal attraction towards virtue and self-denial, powerfully though passion draw the other way. Above all, the English like to have their national vice attacked. No religious leader will ever gain much ground with them who does not lay siege to intemperance, that fruitful cause of their ruin and degradation; and the veneration in which Cardinal Manning was held in London was greatly attributable to his unbending attitude on the question of drink. Where the Salvation Army fails to satisfy is in the absence of dogma. A craving for dogma, almost as unconscious yet quite as natural as the infant's craving for mother's milk, is one of the marks of a time of revival.

The existence of such a craving furnishes a key to the contentions which tear at the heart of the Established Church. A certain section opposed unconditionally all desire for dogmatic sacramental teaching. Another section, feeling that it would never do to let people go to Rome, set up that claim *to be* the Catholic Church, to prove which is the object of their unending battle and strife. They exhumed ancient doctrines and practices from the past, or copied them from the living exemplar which has been present all along. They made the most of those portions of the prayer-book which Cranmer retained from Catholic times, and ignored those other portions which he admitted to please the party of Geneva, at that memorable time when the shifty prelate made his great attempt to link together conflicting parties with the rope which ever since has served them for their tug of war. But, in

reality, Ritualism was a fresh departure, a new religion rushing forth full of youthful fervor and brilliancy from the brains of zealous, striving and stirring men.

What has been its success? In some respects a very great one. It has well nigh transformed the face of the Established Church; it has brought back the ancient forms of baptism, the use of the Cross, the observance of feasts and fasts. It has aroused the curiosity and caught the fancy, and in some sort satisfied the yearnings, of the refined and artistic English upper-middle-class, and this in spite of the glaring fact that even Ritualism itself is not at all homogeneous. Ritualism includes numerous shades of opinion, and is without a binding principle of unity; and the imagined shadow, which it calls "The Church," is as elusive as a phantom.[1] In many cases, the ritual outruns the doctrine, and effect takes the place of cause. A writer in the "Church Times,"[2] has said:

> "Probably, the tendency towards adopting some of the outward signs of the Catholic Faith, without its doctrines, and still more without its duties, is one of the greatest dangers of the English Church generally at the present time. A great mistake, often made, is that of not going far enough; nothing will succeed so well here as a thorough-going Catholic policy, beginning with a full ceremonial and not making it the end to be arrived at."

This is rather a puzzling state of things for the laity, and the poor, at least, can hardly be expected to ravel it out. I am far from undervaluing the work which the High Church party have done among the poor. Their slum charities are numerous and successful; their open-air preachings and "stations of the Cross" must needs strike some salutary thoughts to sorrow-laden hearts; their schools seem to turn out the cleanest, most decent, and best-marshalled children in the rookery streets of London; and that spirit of order which is wanting to their doctrine comes very much to their aid in practical matters. They have, however, little doctrinal hold over their poor; for the ends and views, strivings and contentions, and angry insistences of the Ritualistic clergy on the subjects of Catholicity, continuity, and the rest, are far too complicated to be understood by the people. A parish church with plenty of guilds and clubs, and energetic clergymen attached to it, has natural attractions for the poor; but one never sees them dropping in for worship at odd times, or for some simple service without music, as one sees the poor in churches of the "Roman

---

[1] *Vide* that most inconclusive book, Canon Gore's *Christian Church*, which sets forth, in effect, that every one is bound to belong to the Church, while yet the Church is invisible, impossible to find, and liable to error; and, moreover, that Holy Scripture leads us to expect that the Church would be marked by these unsatisfactory characteristics.

[2] May 15, 1896.

obedience." The contrast is yet more strongly marked in all that concerns religious obligations and the sacramental system. Roman Catholics know and universally acknowledge the obligation of hearing Mass on Sundays, and going at stated times to confession and communion; their priests may have to remind negligent subjects of their duty, but the existence of the duty no one denies. With the Ritualistic clergyman all is different. He tells his people to come to confession; but they cannot understand the need of coming, and, what is worse, their bishops do not want them to come. He advocates fasting, communion; the weary working-folk do not approve of the innovation, and he cannot insist on it. Sometimes, on the other hand, the Anglican laity, who are willing and anxious to go to confession, do not know where to find a confessor. There are hundreds of villages where the clergyman would be entirely nonplussed by a request to hear a confession; and it must be owned that in this matter supply and demand are equally unsatisfactory. The same incongruity exists about everything which High Anglicans call "distinctively Catholic" Dogmata, and consequent practices, which are the life of the Roman Church, become a matter of contention among Anglicans—championed by some, doubted by others, obligatory on no one.

This state of things would open out an endless vista of new difficulties and anarchies, supposing that the cause now *sub judice* at Rome should terminate in the verdict desired by the English Church Union. Indeed, the attitude of the High Anglicans on this question is the strangest ever known. Let the question of the succession be but settled in their favor, and unity and authority are of no consequence. It matters nothing that many of their brethren eagerly disclaim any title to what the first Reformers, with the grace of diction which marked their controversial writings, called "greasy, stinking anti-Christian Orders;" nor that some of their own people (for I conclude that a recent writer in the "Westminster Review" may be classed under this head) declare that the clergy will never be popular so long as they claim supernatural powers. Let the Pope but attribute the succession to Anglicans, and reunion is a certainty, and they will bow down before the successor of St. Peter; but should he decide (on purely historical grounds, for passion and prejudice do not invade the unruffled endless calms of the Vatican) that want of consecration or of intention at the fountain-head cut off the Anglican clergy from the apostolic inheritance, and they will say that, after all, the opinion of the western patriarchs is of no great consequence; that they hail from the East (in some mysterious way of which history does not speak), and can amalgamate with the last again, and be independent. Already the Encyclical has fluttered Anglican episcopal

dove-cotes, showing, as it does, what is already familiar as the alphabet to the Catholic mind, that it avails but little to be a priesthood and an episcopate in schism.

Thus, Anglicanism, with its undoubted graces and virtues, its scholarship, refinement, and identification with the devout zeal and the learning of many choice English souls, yet gives too uncertain a sound to lead a nation to battle against infidelity. Newman called it "a great human institution;" yet it has nothing approaching to the amount of cohesion possessed by such worldly institutions as a line regiment or a ship-of-war. What would become of these, were their discipline but as that of the English Church?

It now remains to be asked what is the attitude of London towards that undisputed Catholicism which is recognized as such by friend and foe; which is full of sap, full of certainties, without half-measures, and the acknowledged antithesis of infidelity. A city set on a hill cannot be hid; and in spite of every sort of popular inversion of Catholic teaching and practice, it is this religion which, either in love or in hatred, has ever been the cynosure of all eyes.

Of late the hatred has to some extent ebbed away. Our fathers saw a storm of invective and of menace raised against Catholicism in England—a storm so violent that another Gordon Riot, with a government rather behind it than opposing it, was one of the possibilities on the horizon of contemporary history. But it was mostly sound and fury, and signified only that the religion of the Plantagenets had been revived in England, and that the "Protestant Tradition" was protesting, as in duty bound. Ignatius Spencer (Seynt Ignatius, as the coarse old "Punch" of those days, in its many lampoons of the ex-evangelical parson, used to call him) had canvassed Europe for prayers for the conversion of England; presently the *fine fleur* of Oxford scholarship followed him into the Church by a route different from his own; and then the Hierarchy was established, received with a wild but impotent howl, and remained, all things to the contrary notwithstanding. Father Spencer died, and no great effort was made for England until after the accession to the Papal throne of Leo XIII., on whom the mantle of St. Gregory has descended. Then arose the Guild of Our Lady of Bransom, to the work of which, in its earlier days[1] I called the sympathizing attention of American Catholics. Since that time it has extended its work in many directions, its principal works as regards London consisting in the organization of lectures on doctrinal and historical subjects, and of open-air processions.

These last have created no small impression in the capital, bring-

[1] 1890.

ing, as they do, the present face to face with the past in the most striking manner. Through the wide gray streets of London, where the tram-car runs and the Sunday cylist rides, wind religious pageants like to those which flashed of old between the wooden houses and under the Gothic towers of ancient London. Once more a train of vested priests and acolytes bears the crucifix and statues of Our Lady and the saints along the highways of the metropolitan city as in the days when England built up her laws and won her battles under the like symbols; once more the Paternoster and the Ave, which gave their names to streets which have them still, rise on the air which blows from the hills of Surrey or the heights of Hempstead. In the hurry and skurry of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the social whirlpool formed by the impact of extreme luxury on horrible, ghastly poverty, are revived the traditions of those more spacious days when the sweater, and the relieving officer, and the gauds of the London season were unknown.

The attitude of nineteenth century *fin de siecle* London towards these new-old sights and sounds is generally respectful and curious, rarely jeering, often necessarily marked by ignorance of the true inwardness of the outward sign—an ignorance, however, which is anxious to be removed.

And here, again, the militant angels of the religious renascence are to the fore. It has been rightly judged at headquarters that everything now depends on the removal of false impressions; and a series of free lectures has been organized, not with a view to directly attacking the creeds of others, but with the primary object of explaining Catholic doctrines to the public. These lectures happily attract a motley crowd of listeners, representative of every semitone and quarter-tone in the immense religious gamut of London, from the Anglican clergymen, tentative, but refined and scholarly, down to the prevalent young atheist who fancies himself to be learned because he has been educated by the afflicted rate-payer at a board school. The infidel (a rather rare specimen in London), whose aggressiveness merges on the Parisian; the gentler Agnostic, who thinks that because creation suffers there cannot be a creator; the viewy Theosophist; the genuine old-fashioned honest Protestant, amusingly hampered by crazes about image-worship and bought absolutions; all these, and many more than these, form the audience of the Catholic revivalists, and a goodly proportion are really in search of a creed authoritative enough and beautiful enough to displace their doubts.

Perhaps the most striking of these lectures, so far as local association goes, are those delivered by lay Catholic gentlemen in Hyde Park. Here, almost on the spot where the martyrs sowed

the seed, a gallant attempt is made, Sunday after Sunday, to carry the harvest. Nor are the workers altogether without reward. Gentleness, courtesy, and a scholarly train of argument win their way. Protestants come from long distances to listen and learn, and to ask *bona fide* questions; and a rash attempt made by an association (unconnected with the Established Church) to clamor down the lecturers, died harmlessly away. Numerous conversions have been traced to both the indoor and the outdoor conferences; and it is probable that the crusade of tract distribution organized by the same promoters, though its results are necessarily to some extent hidden, also bears fruit in that removal of prejudices which, at the very least, leaves the mind as a clear page on which truth may write itself.

The impulse has been given. Men are disheartened with Protestantism because it gives so little; doubtful of Anglicanism because it is doubtful of itself; willing at least to take into consideration the uncompromising and undying claim of the ancient Church. The rest lies, to a great extent, with Catholics themselves, especially with lay Catholics. Their position in this country is one of acute responsibility, and they will have their reward tenfold if they trade aright with their talent, which is the possession of the faith. Even in the minds of their enemies lies a latent consciousness that they are the salt of the earth. They have to bear in mind that not only mortal sin, but venial sins which give scandal, worldly follies or ugly ruggedness on their part, may be an obstacle in the path of Protestants seeking the way home. Leo. XIII., with the wisdom which enables him to penetrate into the needs of the nations which he governs, has not failed to point out, in his letter to the English people, the perils of the hour. And yet, in spite of all obstacles, the old religion is waxing; not only is it leavening literature and reclaiming art, but it is beginning to be even to the people of London a sign and a beacon in the midst of their deep dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. Distinctiveness and authority are what is wanted. Compromise in action may be the essence of worldly policy, but you cannot compromise with facts, and religious truth is not a phantasm, but the most steadfast fact that has been or will be. The "breadth" of such a one as Dean Farrar seems but the breadth of a trackless waste, whereas one wants a path. The eclecticism of such a one as the editor of the "Review of Reviews," who amiably amuses himself with finding the shred of truth in every creed, fails in its intended effect of pleasing the vexed and strenuous seeker after the "It is." The attraction towards a religion which is distinctive and authoritative asserts itself every day more strongly. Men cannot account for it. The Protestant tradition fights against it

still, but by the methods of civilized warfare, as a tradition which has lived to be *fin de siècle* should fight, and no longer with the barbarous weapons of the fifties. High-Anglicanism tries to fling itself into the breach, but is too incohesive even to stop a gap, and is generally looked upon rather as foam and flotsam borne on the inrushing tide.

In the meanwhile, the hour and the men are come. It remains to be seen whether the men will take advantage of the hour, setting forth before the English nation a standard of faith and morals around which the undisciplined army of souls can gladly rally.

AMY M. GRANGE.

Scientific Chronicle.

X-RAYS.

I.—The Announcement.

Towards the end of January of the present year vague reports concerning a wonderful discovery in the domain of physics began to come over the ocean. The discoverer was Professor W. C. Roentgen, of the University of Wurzburg. The scientific journals in this country handled the first communications as if they had been hot potatoes. One of them, under date of January 25th, speaks thus:

"There have been received from Europe by cable very insufficient accounts of a discovery attributed to Professor Routgen (*sic*), of Wurzburg University. By the use of a radiant state of matter tube, a Crookes tube, it is stated that he has succeeded in obtaining photographic effects through opaque objects. It has long been known that ether waves of long period would pass through matter opaque to short waves, and that such a screen as is afforded by a plate of blackened rock salt will sift out short waves, while long waves will pass through it. In some unexplained way Professor Routgen, it is claimed, has succeeded in affecting the sensitive plate with waves which had passed through an opaque body. Metals cutting off all waves alike would produce a shadow, so that a metallic object in a box or embedded in the human system could be made to give some kind of an image. The operations are said to have been conducted without a lens, entirely by shadow.

"This is about the substance of the reports. It is yet too soon to indulge in the wild possibilities that have been suggested for the process. When the details reach us the process will probably prove to be of scientific rather than of practical interest."—*Scientific American.*

The sequel has proved that some parts of the above were true, some erroneous and that the last sentence was wildly wrong.

The next issue (February 1st) of the same journal is equally cautious. "Full reports of Professor Roentgen's (name spelled correctly now) discovery have not yet reached us, and the accounts so far received do not greatly clarify the atmosphere surrounding his discovery. The effects are said to have been produced by Crookes tubes as the source of light or of etheral disturbance. The active cause, whatever it is, it is said, was incapable of refraction, at least by an ordinary photographic lens. The discovery is described as having been made by accident. Professor Roentgen was experimenting with a Crookes tube covered with cloth. Some sensitized paper lay near it, and the paper showed next day some streaks of coloration. This appearing mysterious, Professor Roentgen repeated what he had done, and traced the

cause to the tube, and so went on to prove that he could get actinic effects from an active Crookes tube through a screen, generally made of organic matter, and one quite opaque to light, although one account says that the effect can be produced through a plate of aluminum over half an inch thick. Another statement is to the effect that the rays are not undulatory, but move forward in straight lines.

"This statement suggests an analogy between what goes on inside a Crookes tube with the molecules of extremely rarefied air therein and what is supposed to go on in the space between the tube and the sensitized surface. Nine examples of the photographs are said to be in Vienna, sent there from Wurzburg. The Crookes tube, it appears, is placed behind the object to be experimented with, and the photography thus appears as shadow photography, or a species of printing similar to contact printing. It appears probable that the discovery is one of theoretical importance in physics, but probably of no practical value as yet in photography." The same hodge-podge of truths, half-truths and errors; and then follows a wise explanation of what is not understood:

"It is also to be remarked that there may be less of novelty in the experiments than is generally supposed. It is not going too far to say that even the old-time breath images produced by a coin lying on a mirror are recalled to mind by the descriptions received. Then the electric images produced by an electric discharge through a coin and impinging on a photographic plate, Sanford's experiment, have been cited. It has even been suggested that some analogy with Hertz's experiments may exist. He passed radiant energy due to long ether waves through pitch and other bodies quite opaque to short ether waves, such as produce light. There is no novelty in passing ether waves through an opaque organic screen; the difficulty is in getting any actinic effect out of such waves. It is conceivable that their period might be shortened, and this has been suggested as a possible explanation of the achievement."

Oh, yes—doubts, hesitations, caution, "it is thought," "it is suggested," "it is said," "it is possible," "it is conceivable,"—but enough of this, it is time to change the key.

A week later the tone changes completely, all doubts are set aside, a roseate hue steals over the whole scene, and the latest baby of science is brought to light. Since then it has proved to be, without doubt, in many respects, the most wonderful scientific baby of the nineteenth century.

II.—The Antecedents.

Before speaking directly of the X-rays, it will be necessary to say something about the discoveries which led up to them. These are: (1) The electric rays, (2) the Geissler rays, (3) the Crookes rays, (4) the Hertz rays and (5) the Lenard rays.

1. *The Electric Rays.*

The starting-point of the whole business is electricity, and for the first glimmering idea of *that* we must peer far back into the twilight

of fable. The first thing that was known in this matter was that amber when rubbed would attract light bodies, such as bits of straw, feathers, etc.

The Greek word for amber is ἤλεκτρον (= electron), whence we have the English word "electricity." The electric bug remained in the larva and chrysalis condition for hundreds of years, perhaps for thousands, and it was not until comparatively recent times that it burst from its prison, and came forth in winged beauty to astonish the world. Even then it did not reveal itself all at once, but during these latter years it has made phenomenal progress, and from such humble beginnings as the ability to attract and lift a bit of down, it has come to be the Aladdin of the world, and is every day working more wonders than the wildest inventor of fables ever imagined in his dreamiest hours. Some men, belated newspaper scribblers, still speak of electricity being in its infancy—bah! electricity is a strong young giant rejoicing to run his course, but no baby.

In the course of its evolution, the time at last came when electricity could be produced in large quantities, and then many new phenomena came to light. Among others it was noticed that it was able to break its way across a certain space of air, and that in so doing it would produce a spark of light accompanied by a sharp, crackling sound, mimicking on a small scale the flash of lightning and the sound of thunder. Franklin proved, and we now all believe, that lightning and the electricity which we generate in our laboratories are one and the same thing. We might, therefore, call a streak of lightning "an electric ray," but the appellation would, we think, be hardly acceptable as appropriate. When, however, a body is charged with electricity, there are what are called "lines of electric force" passing outward from it in all directions. They pass through all non-conductors, such as air, glass, ebonite, etc., but are stopped by conductors, such as are all the metals and a number of other substances. These lines of force may with some propriety be called electric rays.

2. *Geissler Rays.*

Some time later on it was discovered that electricity would pass much more readily through rarefied air than through air in ordinary pressures. The same turned out to be true in the case of other gases, but, for our present purpose, it will suffice to stick to the air. This new phenomenon led men to experiment in a systematic way with electricity in air at reduced pressures. A brief summary of the means employed and the results obtained would be about as follows:

Let us take a rather long, say a 2-foot, glass tube, an inch or so in bore, into each end of which a piece of platinum wire has been inserted and tightly sealed. We have said "tube," not because the cylindrical form is necessary, for any other form would answer; indeed, many other forms are used for special effects, but for our special purpose the tube is all that is needed. The wires should project both inwards and outwards a short distance, the outward ends being for connection with the source of electricity, the inward ones for the discharge. The wires,

when connected with the positive and negative ends of an electric machine, are called *electrodes*. "Electrode" means a *way* or *path*, over which electricity is conducted. That one which is connected with the positive end, or pole, is called the positive electrode, or *anode*, which means literally the *way up;* the wire connected with the negative pole of the machine is named the negative electrode, or *kathode*, which means the *way down*. Some spell it *cathode*.

To the side of our tube, and opening into it, it matters not at what point, is attached another tube, short and relatively small. It serves to put the main tube in connection with an air-pump.

All the connections having been properly made, we start up—but hold—we have another preliminary remark to make. It is this: As an electrical machine we cannot here use a dynamo or a battery directly, but must either use a static machine, such, for example, as a Holtz or a Wimshurst, or else a Ruhmkorff, or a Tesla coil, or some equivalent, actuated by a dynamo or battery. The reason of this is that to produce a spark of appreciable length, we need an exceedingly great electric pressure, or voltage as it is usually called, and that is precisely what the static machine gives. Neither the dynamo nor the battery can give directly the voltage required, but the low-pressure current that they do give can be converted into a high-pressure current by means of an appropriate coil. In the units made use of in these measurements, it would take a large battery to give 50; dynamos range from 50 to 3000, but a static machine or a coil will show from 50,000 up to pressures that we have no means of measuring except by guess.

This being known, let us start up our high-pressure current, or at least try to start it up. The probabilities are that it will obstinately refuse to budge, for it would take an enormous coil to give a spark of two feet in the air, and the current must either go the whole distance at a bound or fail entirely. There is an analogy between this and case of steam. While the pressure is rising the strain on the boiler is increasing, and when that has reached the limit of the boiler's strength, a sudden rupture takes place. In the case in hand the air between the electrodes resists, and unless the pressure of the electricity be great enough to overcome that resistance, no breaking through the air can take place. There are but few coils made that will give a spark of twenty-four inches in the air, the ones in ordinary use giving from one-eighth of an inch up to eight or ten inches.

Since we can get no further ahead in this way, it is therefore time to set our air-pumps a-going. As the air in the tube becomes rarefied, its resistance is gradually reduced so that at a given moment the pressure at the electrodes can overcome it, and the current will pass. The sparks, however, will not have the brilliancy or the snap of a two-foot spark in the air under normal pressure. So it is with some men who are most brilliant when encountering and overcoming opposition.

Let us keep our air-pumps working so that the air in the tube may become continually less and less dense. The principal phenomena observable in the tube will then occur in the following order: First the

sparking will cease, and an occasional noiseless flash will take its place. A little later there will appear a faint, thin streak of reddish-purple light reaching from electrode to electrode. The air in the tube is illuminated along the path of the discharge. The color of the streak will not, however, be quite even throughout, but the end nearest the positive electrode (anode) will incline to rather more of redness, while that nearest the kathode will take on a hue of very decided blue. The streak of light next widens out so as to fill the whole tube, but in so doing it divides itself up into strata lying at right angles to the axis of the tube, the strata being separated from each other by narrow spaces of total darkness. Tubes that have been exhausted to this extent are called Geissler tubes, from the name of a celebrated manufacturer. He made them of all kinds of glass, of all sorts of queer forms, and of various sizes. We may call the rays in these tubes Geissler rays.

3. *Crookes Rays.*

As the exhaustion of the air goes on, a dark space forms just next to the kathode; it widens out, and, seeming to drive before it the strata of light in the tube, gradually stretches along till the purple light is entirely driven from the field, except a little which remains on the anode, not purple now, but only of a whitish glow. In the meantime another phenomenon has been manifesting itself. According as the purple light recedes towards the anode, a phosphorescent glow has been gradually creeping along the interior walls of the tube, following the dark space from the kathode towards the anode, and finally reaching to the very end. The color of this glow depends on the nature of the glass. For English glass it is of a delicate blue, for uranium or canary glass it is a dark green, but the finest and most brilliant color is that given by soft German glass, a beautiful bright green. The light is all on the inner walls of the tube, and not in the free space inclosed by it, where darkness reigns supreme.

To get this phenomenon at its best the air-pressure in the tube must be reduced to something between the one one-millionth and the one twenty-millionth of an atmosphere. Arrived at this condition the tube is called a Crookes tube, from the celebrated English chemist who, following out a suggestion made by Faraday, worked out by means of such tubes the whole theory of what he calls "Radiant Matter."

Something evidently passes from the kathode to the walls of the tube. It may be the minute residue of air which is left in the tube, and which being shot off with violence from the kathode, strikes the glass and makes it glow with that gorgeous phosphorescent light, and then returns slowly to the kathode by a circuitous route, to be projected again and again. This is what Crookes himself and some other eminent scientists hold. On the other hand, it may be nothing but vibrations that are transmitted by the ether, as some other scientists believe. Be that as it may, Crookes proved that the effect travels in practically straight lines, and perpendicularly from the surface of the kathode, no

matter in what position the anode may be placed. If, therefore, the kathode be made to end in the form of a flat disk, directly facing the further end of the tube, nearly all the effect will be concentrated at that end. The phosphorescence there will be all the brighter, and but little will be wasted on the lateral walls of the tube. To keep the anode out of the way, it may be inserted anywhere along the side. The effects observed in these tubes may be said to be due to the Crookes rays. More extensive matter on this subject may be found in the numbers of this REVIEW for April and July, 1892.

4. *Hertz Rays.*

The next step towards the X-rays is Hertz's experiment. In a Crookes tube he placed a piece of gold leaf in the path between the kathode and the further end of the tube, and found that the effect passed on almost as if the gold leaf were absent. This looked like getting the Crookes rays through an opaque substance, a thing which Crookes did not claim to be able to do, and which he seems almost to have proved long before to be impossible. Hertz was a man of wonderful genius, and his experimental proof that electricity is a wave motion, of the same kind as light, will stand as his lasting monument. He did not live to pursue the subject we are now dealing with any further, but his mantle fell on good shoulders.

5. *Lenard Rays.*

The next step forward was taken by Lenard, who took up the work where it had been left by Hertz. He reasoned that if the Crookes rays, or Radiant Matter, passed through gold leaf they might be made to pass out into the open air, and there yield up some new secret. To test this he constructed a Crookes tube, modified by having the end opposite the kathode formed of a plate of metal. The gold leaf would not, of course, support the inward pressure of the air when the tube would be exhausted. Lenard chose aluminum, as having the greatest strength in proportion to its density, and made it only just thick enough to stand the pressure. He found that something did get through the plate, or "window," as he called it. The proof of this was that a phosphorescent substance would glow when placed in front of that window, though no visible light was allowed to fall upon it, and that even a photographic plate was affected by that something just as by common daylight. The distance at which the effect could be produced was quite small, at most not over two inches. Lenard found that these rays of his would pass through the human hand, and cast a shadow of the bones. There is indeed, a dispute as to whether Lenard was really the first to make this discovery, some attributing the whole thing to Hittorff. We have not at hand the evidence that would be necessary to settle this dispute, but that matters little here. We shall, until further development of this question of priority, continue to call them Lenard rays. They are certainly not the Crookes rays; neither, as we shall see presently, are they the same as the X-rays.

III.—The Accomplishment.

We have at last reached the X-rays proper, and it now remains for us to say a few words on (1) their Production, (2) their Properties, (3) their Nature, and (4) their Uses.

1. *Production of the X-Rays.*

The step from the Lenard rays to the Roentgen, or X-rays, was a short one, so short indeed that many thought, at least for a time, that Roentgen had discovered nothing new, but that he had simply found a new application for an old thing. Nothing could be further from the truth. Roentgen did not discover the Crookes rays, neither did he claim them. He did not discover the Lenard rays, neither did he claim them. He did indeed make use of Crookes tubes and Lenard tubes. He did make use of the knowledge he had gained of what others had done before him, not to appropriate it as his own, but merely to serve as a stepping stone to what they had not reached.

Let us see now how these X-rays are produced. They had been produced over and over again in the very experiments we have already described, but no one had noticed them; so we must begin over again. Take a Crookes tube, one in which the kathode ends in a disk, and in which consequently the opposite end of the tube is strongly luminous. Next take a sensitized photographic plate, which has previously been wrapped in several folds of black paper, such as photographers use for protecting their plates against the light. Neither sunlight nor electric light, even at short range, can penetrate such a covering. Take this plate, so protected, and place it in front of the phosphorescing end of the Crookes tube. The silver salt will be reduced just as if it had been exposed to the open daylight, though less rapidly. The action has gone on, or the rays, if rays they be, have passed onward, through the opaque paper.

Again, take a phosphorescent surface, say a piece of stiff cardboard, covered on one side with any phosphorescent compound. Potassium or Barium Platino-Cyanide, and Calcium Tungstate, are among the best yet tried. Cover the reverse of your cardboard with black paper. Now hold this screen in front of the Crookes tube in action, the protected side towards the tube. The side which is turned away from the tube will now be found to be illuminated. Here again we find the rays passing through the opaque paper, but revealing their existence this time by being converted into light visible to the eye. The black paper cuts off all visible light, but lets through something which is converted into light by the chemical substance beyond. This thing which passes, whatever it may be, is called X-rays. In algebra, X is the sign of an unknown quantity, and as Roentgen did not pretend to know what it was that he had discovered, he proposed the name X-rays. Roentgen-rays would be a better term.

But it has been objected that the Lenard rays will produce these same effects. Yes—but that does not prove identity. Gas will pass through a brick, so will water, but they are not alike. To be identical, two in-

dividual things must be alike in *all* their properties, while non-identity exists if they differ in a single one. Luckily, it is a question of non-identity which we have to prove, and the proofs will become manifest, little by little, as we go on.

2. *Properties of the X-Rays.*

The literature of the X-rays is growing to be something enormous. Some scientific journals hardly ever let a week pass without one or two articles on the subject. It may be divided into three kinds, the good, the bad and the stick-in-the-porridge varieties. The future historian from New Zealand, or from Samoa, will not lack materials, but he may find it a pretty tough job to classify them. If the above paragraph is deemed unnecessary or out of place, please skip it, and pass on to the properties of the X-rays, as follows:

(*a*) The X-rays are capable of passing through, not merely black paper, but, under proper conditions, through all the substances that have been tried up to date; and the number tried is legion. It has hence been concluded that the same is true of all matter. We think there is room for a doubt in this affair. Will the X-rays pass through even a phosphorescent substance? It is not easy to decide.

Suppose we have our X-rays produced, as described above, and that our screen is in position. Now, will the rays that have induced phosphorescence in this screen be extinguished in so doing, or will they still journey on, and act in the same way on another screen further on? We might answer on general principles that, when energy has been used up, it is just used up, and can go no further in its original form. As far as our own experiments go, they seem to show that the rays go no further than the first screen, and, consequently, that substances which phosphoresce under the action of the X-rays are themselves opaque to those rays. This view is, moreover, supported by the fact, which we have experienced, that, if the coating on the screen be too thick, the rays will not penetrate and illuminate it all through.

On the other hand, it is quite possible that this is merely a question of degree, and that, with greater electric pressure from the coil, and therefore greater penetrative power in the rays, these might not lose all their energy in the first screen, but might, in part at least, pass through and on, and be revealed by their action on a second screen, or on a photographic plate, beyond. Further experiments on this point are wanted.

With the possible exception, then, of phosphorescent substances themselves, the X-rays pass through all known substances. The degrees of transparency, however, vary between very wide limits. Organic substances in general, as plants, and the flesh, hair, nails and horns of animals, are nearly as transparent to X-rays as glass is to the common light. There are differences, it is true, between them, but the differences are not great. The inorganic parts of an animal, the bones, are very much less transparent. When, therefore, the hand is placed between the Crookes tube and the phosphorescing screen, the X-rays

will pass through the flesh and tendons, and will illuminate that part of the screen covered only by those. They will be stopped, more or less completely, by the bones, and these will consequently cast a shadow, more or less dense, on the screen.

Of all substances, those which are most opaque to these rays are the common metals, as platinum, gold, lead, silver, copper, iron, zinc, etc. The opacity seems to increase in a general way with the density, but by no means in exact proportion thereto. Thus, if a unit thickness of platinum, whose density is 21.5, casts a shadow of a certain intensity, then to cast an equal shadow, you must have of lead, whose density is 11.3, a thickness of 3; of zinc, whose density is 7.1, a thickness of 6, and of aluminum, whose density is 2.6, a thickness of 200. These are about the only substances whose opacity has as yet been determined with any attempt at exactness.

The compounds of the metals share in the opacity of their constituents. Thus, a block of wood, an inch or two in thickness, will cast a barely perceptible shadow, but if painted with white lead, the shadow will be quite dark. Glass (containing lead), an inorganic compound, perfectly transparent to light, is much more opaque than aluminum to the X-rays, while India-rubber, opaque to light, is perfectly transparent to the X-rays. They even pass through the black compound of rubber and sulphur, known as hard rubber, or ebonite, as water does through a sieve. Paper is very transparent; we have seen a metal key through 2000 pages of printed books, leather bindings and all.

But just as, in the strict sense of the word, there is no substance *absolutely* opaque to light, and no substance absolutely transparent, so it is with the X-rays. Light will pass through the densest and most opaque metals, as platinum, gold, silver, etc., if the layers be sufficiently thin, but it will fail to get through the clearest glass or water, if the layer be sufficiently thick. Although the thickness or thinness of the substances employed has a similar effect on the X-rays, still there is an important difference between the two cases. No light from any source that we know of would traverse a plate of iron, or gold, or lead, one-sixteenth of an inch thick. even if the plate were exposed to the light for a century. With the X-rays it is different. Here the time-factor enters; for a plate of metal thick enough to stop the X-rays at first will fail to do so if the action be continued for a sufficient length of time.

(*b*) The Crookes rays originate at the kathode, and leave it in lines perpendicular to its surface, but do not pass through the walls of the tube. Crookes proved both these points to his own satisfaction, and there is no doubt that they are substantially correct. The Lenard rays do pass out of the tube, and, as far as they can be traced, travel in straight lines from the kathode. The X-rays certainly do not, as such, start from the kathode, but are generated at that part of the interior surface of the tube where the Crookes rays strike and produce phosphorescence. From that surface they dart out in straight lines in all directions. This alone is enough to show that the X-rays are different both from the Crookes rays and from the Lenard rays.

(*c*) When a magnet is presented to the Crookes rays, they no longer travel in straight lines, but are deflected into a path more or less strongly curved, and finally reach the walls of the tube at a different spot from where they previously impinged. The bending will be either towards or away from the magnet, according to the pole which is presented. The Lenard rays are deflected in like manner. In the case of the X-rays no such a phenomenon takes place. This fact clearly proves again the non-identity of the Lenard with the X-rays.

3. *Nature of the X-rays.*

When these rays first came to light, it was predicted that our whole beautiful theory of the wave motion of light would fall to the ground. We are quite content to let that prediction stand for what it is worth. The wave theory stands on a pretty broad and solid foundation, and it is not going to be easily shaken. We do not yet know enough about the nature of the X-rays to be able to predict anything whatsoever about what they may or may not do in the field of theories.

What is really *known* as to the nature of the X-rays might perhaps be conveniently expressed in round numbers by a row of zeros. Still, zeros make but poor feeding for either body or mind, and hence desperate efforts are being made to find out what the X-rays really are. The discovery was first published on January 4, 1896, at the semi-centennial anniversary of the Berlin Physical Society, and during the nine months that have elapsed since that date, probably nearly all the physicists, professional and amateur, of the world, who could command an induction coil, a battery or dynamo, and a Crookes tube, have tried their luck at manufacturing these rays.

The object in view, first in time, but not first in importance, was, of course, to satisfy a very justifiable curiosity by the sight of something said to be really new and really wonderful, as well as to exhibit the same to admiring friends. The next object was to try to discover the most reliable methods of getting the best results, and to see if the X rays would yield any useful practical results. For these purposes all sorts of experiments have been tried with all sorts of currents, and all sorts of coils, and all sorts of Crookes tubes, and all sorts of screens, and, where permanent records were desired, with all sorts of plates, films and processes. In spite of all this we have not yet found the best methods, but we have made immense progress in the utilization of the rays. This will be seen later on.

A third, and in itself a higher object from a scientific point of view, was brought to the front by those who were best fitted to dive into the mystery, the professors of science. The question they naturally proposed to themselves was: "What are these X-rays?" In other words: "What is their nature?" An answer to this question has not yet been forthcoming, but a good deal of progress has been made in the way of finding out what they are not.

Since they give rise to visible light, perhaps they are themselves of the nature of light. Heat is not formally light, but all agree that it is of

the same nature, viz., a wave motion. This doctrine of light, viz., that it is a wave motion of the ether, has been held by all physicists ever since the days of Young and Huygens. The rapid, transverse vibrations of this subtle, elastic medium, which fills all space and pervades all matters, are light and heat, and probably electricity also. The vibrations are transverse, *i.e.*, perpendicular to the direction of the waves, or what amounts to the same, perpendicular to the rays. In sound, which is also a wave motion, the vibrations of the medium, be it solid, liquid, or gaseous, are longitudinal, *i.e.*, in the direction of the rays.

Taking these things for granted, it is asked again: "Are the X-rays of the same nature as rays of light?" The evidences so far brought to bear seem at first sight to be decidedly for the negative.

(*a*) Rays of light on entering the eye pass through the lens and humors, and falling on the retina produce a sensation which we designate by the same name, light. The X-rays have no such effect; in other words, the retina is not sensitive to such rays. You may place your eye as near as possible in contact with a blackened tube, and you will see nothing. If the retina were coated with a phosphorescent substance, then we would probably be aware of the X-rays without the intervention of a prepared screen. That would not mean that we could see into or through what is now opaque, unless the X-rays were coming from beyond, and even then the result would be at most a mere shadow for X-opaque bodies, and but an illuminated surface for the others. Possibly this might not hinder us from seeing bodies just as we do now, when no X-rays were to the fore. Anyhow, what we have said under this head is in favor of a negative answer to the main question.

(*b*) When light falls upon a well-polished, smooth surface, as a mirror, it rebounds, as it were, from the surface, according to laws that are perfectly well defined and perfectly well demonstrated. This is called the phenomenon of "regular reflection." It can be explained by the wave theory, but equally well by the old emission theory to which Newton clung. This theory is, that light consists of particles which are shot off from all luminous bodies, and travel straight to the spot where the light is perceived.

Such experiments as have been made seem to prove that if regular reflection exists in the case of the X-rays, it is only to an infinitesimal degree. Still, the proof is not quite conclusive, for it may simply mean that we have not as yet found a surface smooth enough and fine enough to reflect such rays according to the laws of regular reflection. The laws of reflection for waves and for material particles, or even for massive bodies, are the same. Let us, therefore, make a homely comparison. Suppose we have a wall, on the surface of which we have fastened narrow strips in such a way as to leave interstices of, say, an inch square between them. That surface, taken as a whole, would be called terribly rough. Yet a rubber sphere of a foot in diameter, or any number of them, would rebound from that surface practically according to the laws of regular reflection every time, while a ball one-quarter of an inch in diameter would seldom do so. Out of a shower of such balls a few

would be reflected regularly, the rest would strike the edges or bottoms of the holes and be scattered in all directions.

We would have in this what is called "diffusion."

Now if you take a surface that we call by courtesy "*perfectly smooth* and *polished*," for example, a silver mirror, nearly all the light which falls upon it will be reflected "regularly." But just rub a bit of that surface with your finger, or breathe on it, and the consequence will be that from the surface so roughened you will get a great deal of diffused light, and very little regularly reflected. What would be perfectly smooth for a foot-ball, or even a marble, is very rough for the waves of light. Now it so happens that with X-rays you do get very little regular reflection and a good deal of diffusion from the smoothest surfaces that we have as yet been able to obtain. Perhaps even the very texture of matter, as we know it, is too coarse for regular X-ray reflection. We do not know, and therefore we cannot say, and the only conclusion possible now is, that on this account we cannot conclude either that the X-rays are, or that they are not, of the nature of light.

(*c*) When a ray of sunlight is made to fall upon the face of a prism of rock salt, it is deviated from its original direction more or less according to the angle of the prism. This phenomenon, which is called *refraction*, is accounted for quite satisfactorily by the theory that light (objectively considered) is a wave motion of the ether. If light travels less rapidly in rock salt than in the air, and we know from direct experiment that it does so, and if, at the same time, it be a wave motion, then it can be proved that it must be deviated from its course in a certain definite direction, when it passes obliquely from the air to the salt, or *vice versa*. If light be not a wave motion, then we know of no hypothesis that will account for refraction.

Attempts to obtain refraction with the X-rays are not quite concordant. Roentgen himself says: "With prisms of ebonite and aluminum I have obtained images on the photographic plate which point to a possible deviation. It is uncertain, however, and at most would point to a refractive index of 1.05." This is very small, the deviation produced in the case of light by some substances being fifty times that much, and besides, even that is "uncertain." Moreover, when the screen was used, no deviation at all was perceived. Others have failed to obtain any evidences of refraction, even with prisms. Therefore, it is concluded that the X-rays are not of the nature of light. Still, once again, it may be just possible that some substance will be found which may be able to refract the X-rays.

(*d*) Another phenomenon of light is known by the name of "*dispersion*." When, as we have described under the previous heading, a ray of sunlight has been made to pass through a transparent prism of rock salt, we have not only refraction, but a separation of the white light into different colors. On a screen placed across its path the ray widens out into a band of colors, the band lying at right angles to the axis of the prism. The colors will be found arranged in the following order: Red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet. All the colors

of which the white light was composed have been refracted, turned aside from the original direction of the compound ray, the red the least, and the others in order up to the violet, which has been the most refracted of all. This band of colors is called the *spectrum*, and as these colors can all be seen, it is called more exactly the *visible spectrum*.

But there is also an invisible spectrum, or rather there are two of them, the one reaching out from the red end, the other from the violet end of the visible portion. There are, therefore, rays less refrangible than the red ones, and hence they are known as *infra-red* rays; and there are rays more refrangible than the violet ones, and hence they are called *ultra-violet* rays. The space occupied on the screen by the *infra* and *ultra* rays is considerably longer than that occupied by the visible ones. The infra-red rays contain a large portion of the heat energy of the original white rays; the ultra-violet ones are remarkable for the strong actinic, or chemical, effect which they exert on the silver salts used in photography.

According to the modern wave theory of light the slowest rate of vibration, in the visible spectrum, is that of the red rays. It is at the rate of about 400 million million times in a second. The most rapid rate of vibration is that of the violet rays. It is about 800 million million times in a second. Now it is a fact long known and well attested that rapid vibrations will make their way through substances in which slower ones are arrested, and *vice versa*. Good examples of this are the following: A piece of alum, or even a strong solution of alum in water, will allow nearly all the luminous rays to pass, but it is almost totally impervious to the slower vibrations that constitute heat. On the other hand, a solution of iodine in carbon-disulphide will allow heat rays to pass, but will stop completely the more rapid vibrations of light. The same is true of ebonite.

Such being the case, it has been suggested that the X-rays may be of the nature of the infra-red rays, and the fact last mentioned, concerning ebonite, afforded some appearance of probability to the idea. But when it was learned that the X-rays will not pass through the solution of iodine, the probability vanished.

Well, then, are the X-rays similar at least to the *ultra-violet* rays? A point in favor of this hypothesis is that the invisible *ultra-violet* rays may be rendered visible by causing them to fall on a phosphorescent substance. In the same way invisible X-rays become visible by the same process. Yet Roentgen himself offers several reasons against this view, among others the ones drawn from the phenomena of reflection and refraction, which we have already touched on, as well as those drawn from the phenomenon of polarization.

(*e*) Polarization of light is a rather abstruse and difficult subject, and to attempt to explain it here would require altogether too much space. Suffice it to say that in order to have polarization we must have either reflection or refraction, and as we have neither of these in appreciable quantities with the X-rays, it follows that we cannot have polarization. Yet here again it seems possible, and to some minds it is even probable,

that the X-rays may be found to be of the nature of ultra-violet rays, but with a rate of vibration enormously greater than the poor little 800 million million times a second, as attributed to the violet rays.

(*f*) Not content with the outcome of all these considerations, Roentgen timidly suggests that the X-rays may possibly be the result of longitudinal, instead of transverse, vibrations. This would put the phenomenon in the category of sound, and would dispose neatly of the difficulty about polarization, for there can be no polarization of longitudinal vibrations. The objections, however, concerning reflection and refraction would remain just where they were before. Adding to one end by cutting off from the other does not help matters much.

All these things summed up bear strongly against the hypothesis that the X-rays are included anywhere within the visible or invisible spectrum, as known to us, but leave it an open question as to whether they may not be vibrations of a too, too, altogether ultra-ultra-visible type.

Q.—What are the X-rays?

A.—We do not know.

Q.—When shall we know?

A.—Probably not till long after the present generation of men is quietly resting under the sod.

Q.—What good are they, anyhow?

A.—We are just going to tell you.

4. *Uses of the X-rays.*

A good saying is worth repeating even if it is "not so original but that it might have been heard before." When the gentle and patient Faraday was once showing a new experiment to a visitor, he was asked that old question which ignorance is always asking of science: "What is the good of it?" Faraday answered: "What is the good of a baby?" The answer to Faraday's answer is: "Time alone can tell." The X-rays are a baby yet, and time alone can tell all the good there may be in them. Still, for a baby they have made a wonderful showing.

The principal use to which the X-rays have as yet been put, and to which they are being more and more applied every day, is to aid the surgeon in his diagnoses, and to a lesser extent, even the physician. Since the denser a substance is, the more opaque it is, as a general rule, to these rays, it follows that a bullet or other metallic object embedded in the flesh or even in the bones, and out of the reach of the probe, will cast a denser shadow than its surroundings, and consequently that its position can be accurately determined. The value of this to the surgeon is self-evident. A bullet could not now be concealed successfully in any part of the human body. Quite a number of cases have already occurred in which much suffering has been averted, and even lives saved, by this means. Knowing just where a foreign body is lodged, the surgeon knows just how to go about getting it out with the least danger. Had the X-rays been known in his day, General Garfield would not have died from the effects of the assassin's bullet. It entered the breast, struck a rib, was deflected from its first course and, glancing around, lodged against the

spinal column. It would have taken a few minutes for an X-surgeon to find its position, a few more to extract it, and death would have been robbed of its victim. Besides, in case of an injury to a joint, it is now possible to determine whether there has been a fracture, or merely a dislocation, without first using the knife, and this is often of vital importance. Malformation of the bones and calcareous formations can be easily detected, and perhaps even appendicitis may yet fall in line.

More than this, the principal organs of the body, such as the liver, lungs and kidneys, can be more or less distinctly discerned, while the beating of the heart itself has been witnessed, and certain diseased conditions of these organs can be traced.

Of course, all this is as yet far from being perfect; but imperfect as it is, it is even now something grand, and there can hardly be a doubt that in time more perfect results will be attained all along the line. Instruments will be perfected and simplified, and the best methods for obtaining this or that or the other diagnosis are already being worked out.

Outfits of X-ray apparatus are being introduced into hospitals, and are destined to form a part of the baggage of armies on the march for war. We need them, and so, God speed them, for the millenium is not on us yet.

But is there no danger in the application of the X-rays? None has yet manifested itself. It has, indeed, several times been stated that their long application to the head has caused the hair to fall off, but, as far as we have been able to ascertain, there seems to be one essential element lacking in these statements; that element is truth. It has also been stated that some persons have been rendered dizzy by too much X-rays. Investigation here, it is said, developed the fact that it was not simple X-rays that did the damage, but rather XX.

Possibly, even probably, other uses may be found later on for these mysterious rays; but should their whole sphere of usefulness remain confined to surgery and medicine, they will have deserved the everlasting gratitude of the whole human race, present and to come.

T. J. A. Freeman, S.J.

Book Notices.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Johannes Janssen.* Translated from the German by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie. Volumes I.–II. Price of both volumes, $6.25. St. Louis: B. Herder.

In our last number we expressed our joy at the prospect of Janssen's epoch-making work becoming at length accessible to the English-speaking world, and promised an extended notice when we should have leisure to peruse the translation. The more important the work the more important it is that the translation should be, in every respect, a perfect reproduction of the original. It would not be fair to our readers if we gave them the impression that we are content with the production of the combined talents of Mitchell and Christie. We beg their pardon for speaking of them thus abruptly, as we have no further knowledge of their personality. We are, however, painfully aware that, in undertaking to translate Janssen, they undertook a task far beyond their abilities. To do this work satisfactorily would be the province of one who, with a thorough acquaintance of German and English, could combine a far vaster mastery of historical and theological science than our translators can lay claim to. Were the history of merely ordinary worth, an ordinary artist might suffice, but we must insist that Janssen be given to the English public in a dress fitting his dignity and merits. It may be possible, with considerable trouble, to render these two volumes less objectionable in a second edition. Being merely introductory, they are not of so engrossing interest as the main body of the history which is to follow. But, at whatever cost, let the rest of the translation be submitted to a rigid revision in competent hands before publication. We cannot afford to permit so accurate a writer as Janssen to be made to say foolish or absurdly inaccurate things.

Take, as the first instance that occurs to us, the following sentence:

"With a view to weakening the empire, Louis of Bavaria, by his French policy, for years encouraged the dissensions between the emperor and the papacy, and prevented a reconciliation of the emperor with the Church."[1]

Here there are as many absurdities as words. Why should Louis of Bavaria, the bitter assertor of German independence of the papacy, wish to weaken his own empire? Why should he have taken such extraordinary trouble to prevent a reconciliation between *himself* and the Church? What was the nature of his "French policy?" Surely, whoever makes Janssen talk so wildly is ignorant both of German and of history. Now turn to the original, and see how the author really wrote:

"Zur Schwächung des Reiches schürte die französische Politik unter Ludwig dem Bayer lange Jahre hindurch die Streitigkeiten zwischen dem Kaiser—und dem Papstthum und verhinderte die Aussöhnung des Kaisers mit der Kirche."

[1] Vol. ii., p. 189.

Quite different! It was not Louis's French policy, but the policy of the French court, which took advantage of the dissensions between the emperor and the pope to effect a weakening of the imperial power.

This is by no means an isolated instance of the incapacity of our translators; on nearly every page we have been compelled to turn to the original in order to find out what the author meant to say. For instance, we were startled to read on page 141, note 1, that "an item in the Soester Garichtsordnung required that the judges 'should sit on the bench like a *raging wolf!*'" The original has it that the judge should "sitzen auf dem richterstole als ein grissgrimmender löwe." There is all the difference in the world between a "grim lion" and a "raging wolf." Our advice to the excellent firm of Herder, therefore, must be, to exercise a severe censorship over his translators, "als ein grissgrimmender löwe." Our national reputation and the interests of scientific research both demand this severity.

Nevertheless, even in an inferior translation Janssen's transcendent merits shine forth conspicuous; and we repeat our expressions of thankfulness that we are in a measurable distance of possessing this immortal work in English.

The keynote of Jannsen's character as an historian was absolute self-restraint. He may have had strong feelings, no doubt he had, but he sedulously repressed them, and remains throughout his work as cold as the facts he accumulates with such overwhelming abundance. He very seldom takes the trouble to draw general conclusions, leaving the reader to draw his own consequences. For this reason, we opine, he will never become "popular" with that large class of readers who are too inert to do their own thinking, and who prefer to let a favorite author supply them not only with the materials for forming a judgment, but with the full-fledged judgment itself. Readers of this ilk must seek elsewhere; Janssen demands in his reader some share of that indefatigable industry which characterized his own laborious life; and we agree with him that anyone who shirks the labor of studying all the multifarious details which go to make up the historical judgment, has absolutely no right to pronounce upon the evidence.

It is a strange phenomenon, that although history has been at all times the most fascinating of studies for the human race, yet the true historical instinct, the faculty of historical criticism, has been the latest of human faculties to develop. Great as has been the progress of the race in other departments during the present age, the progress in the art of historical investigation has been the most stupenduous. The histories of other days seem to us now extremely puerile. Compare the Livy of our boyhood with Mommsen. Compare any of the old historians of the Reformation with Janssen. The difference is as great as that between a child's narrative and the narrative of a full-grown man. The child relates only the most salient of external facts, and gives ample play to his imagination; the adult regards the outward phenomena chiefly as the key to the internal springs of action The child rattles off one fact after another with little concern as to their correlation; the full-grown man is most solicitous to discover the concatenation of events. With the older historians but scant notice was paid to any thing except brilliant "faits accomplis." Sieges, battles, victories, defeats, follow each other in rapid succession, and make the narrative as intensely interesting as the most skilful romance. It was magnificent, no doubt, but it was not history, as we now understand history. The task imposed upon the historian of the present age is truly

formidable. He is expected to exhume from hundreds of lurking-places every scrap of parchment that can throw light upon the past. He must fortify every assertion with the best available evidence. He must study, not so much the public march of events, as the hidden life of the people in all its different phases. This mode of investigation is totally fatal to enthusiasm; and, in fact, a modern history is one of the dryest of books. The glamor of romance and poetry has given way to a cold matter-of-fact narrative, often as uninteresting to the general reader as the researches of an antiquarian among the tombs. But the outcome of modern research is *truth*, which is infinitely superior to fiction, however attractive fiction may be to the imagination.

When we consider the nature of Janssen's undertaking, the inveterate prejudices which had to be overcome, and the general disinclination of the public to indulge in heavy literature, it is surprising and gratifying to note that during the lifetime of the author no less than *thirteen* editions of his "History" were called for. The first impulse to write came to Janssen in the early fifties, and his life-work engrossed his thoughts until death, on Christmas Eve, 1891, wrenched his pen from his enfeebled fingers. The extent of his researches into every phase of the life of the sixteenth century was astounding. It would be difficult for the specialist of any art or science to point out one neglected detail in his magnificent panorama. We shall content ourselves with giving the bare titles of his divisions: I. Popular Education and Science. II. Art and Popular Literature. III. Political Economy. IV. The Holy Roman Empire and its Position. Under each of these main divisions he groups carefully and methodically all the information which could be gathered, whether from books or manuscripts, concerning the life, thoughts and customs of the German people at the close of the Middle Ages. If his judgments are more favorable to the forefathers of the modern Germans than those so often and so lightly enunciated by Protestant writers, the fault lies, not with him, but with those who have, in parrot-like fashion, repeated traditional calumnies.

Those who have undertaken to write "Anti-Janssen" literature have engaged in a desperate work; for they have been compelled to combat, not Janssen, but the unassailable *facts* marshalled by Janssen with uncommon skill and industry. The prize offered by the Prussian government for the successful overthrow of the great Catholic historian is yet, and will ever remain, unearned.

Among the papers of the lamented author, his devoted pupil and continuator, Paster, found the following touching words, with which we shall conclude our remarks:

"I am conscious of having never fostered sectarian feelings. That I shall have, in the future as in the past, to encounter many attacks, I entertain no doubt. Where my opponents shall advance anything of value, I shall thankfully receive their animadversions; in other cases I will endeavor to maintain repose of soul. Magna est veritas, et praevalebit. Mighty is the truth, and will prevail."

A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland. Written in 1824–1827, by *William Cobbett*. A New Edition, Revised, with Notes and Preface, by Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. Price, $1.25, net.

English Protestantism has not yet recovered from the effects of the stunning blows so unexpectedly delivered seventy years ago by one who had been reared from infancy in that intense hatred of "popery" which

is characteristic of Englishmen, but who had the honesty, when he discovered how iniquitously Protestant tradition had travestied the facts of the so-called "Reformation," to defend the truth and scourge hypocrisy with a vigor too strong for the refined instincts of his recent Catholic editor. Cobbett was, by nature, an enemy to all cant; and since the England of his day was saturated with cant, he had ample matter for the exercise of a pen which was wielded with greater nerve than that of any English writer except, possibly, Dean Swift's. It is not inconceivable that the "saeva indignatio" of the Dean of St. Patrick's might have anticipated Cobbett's *History of the Reformation* by a century, if Lingard's History had been written a hundred years sooner; for one of Father Gasquet's merits in this edition has been to lay emphasis upon the extent of Cobbett's indebtedness to Lingard; and surely, Cobbett could not have obtained his historical facts from a more trustworthy source than that great English priest, whose sterling work has now stood the test of the better part of a century. Although Father Gasquet has, in his notes, carried his anxiety for absolute accuracy to the point of scrupulosity, yet the learned Benedictine confesses his surprise "to find how few were the instances in which some satisfactory authority could not be found to bear out the picture presented in Cobbett's pages." Coming from a scientific and cautious writer like Gasquet, this must be deemed high praise for a work composed by one who did not pose as a professional historian, but was rather a political pamphleteer.

The chief value of Cobbett's little work, in Gasquet's eyes, "would seem, however, to lie, not in the actual accuracy of this or that fact, but in the general impression made upon the mind of the reader. The author's vigorous and graphic style presents a real picture of the results, so far as the people of England as a whole are concerned, of the revolution, social as well as religious, which is known as the Protestant Reformation. The genius of Cobbett instinctively realized that the religious changes in England in the sixteenth century, if not actually promoted by those in power for their own purposes, had certainly resulted in benefiting the rich to the detriment of their poorer brethren. In fact, wholly apart from the religious side of the question, or from any advantages which may be thought to have been secured by the triumph of Protestantism, the price paid for the change by the lower classes must, in fairness, be estimated as very considerable. Viewed merely in its social aspect, the English Reformation was, in reality, the rising of the rich against the poor."

It may be said, in passing, that this calm, judicial manner of writing, *à la* Gasquet or Lingard, looks rather incongruous on the burning page of Cobbett, who, with the zeal of a man that feels himself to have been throughout life duped and cheated by the interested hypocrisy of "parsons," states his thesis in the following words:

"Now, my friends, a fair and honest inquiry will teach us that this was an alteration greatly for the worse; that the 'Reformation,' as it is called, was engendered in lust, brought forth in hypocrisy and perfidy, and cherished and fed by plunder, devastation and by rivers of innocent English and Irish blood; and as to its more remote consequences, they are, some of them, now before us, in that misery, that nakedness, that hunger, that everlasting wrangling and spite, which now stare us in the face, and stun our ears at every turn, and which the 'Reformation' has given us in exchange for the ease, and happiness, and harmony, and Christian charity enjoyed so abundantly and for so many ages by our Catholic forefathers."

This was certainly carrying the war into Africa, and attacking Protestantism, not only with its own weapon of sturdy vituperation, so different from the traditional apologetics of Catholic authors, but on the very ground upon which Protestantism had shifted the conflict with the ancient Church. Protestantism, conscious of its doctrinal weakness, had endeavored to maintain the position that the Reformation had, at least, elevated the social condition of the populace. Cobbett asserts, and proves, that this is a most impudent falsehood. It is, indeed, the falsehood which, far more than doctrinal errors, had excited his wrath, and spurred him to write his remarkable book. He demonstrates that the great apostasy of the sixteenth century was not only the forerunner but the direct cause of the social miseries which have been the curse of Europe. Catholics have, indeed, said the same thing, though in more moderate language; but the truth is borne in upon our minds more deeply when it comes to us from the very ranks of our foes. It is needless to say, that no serious attempt has ever been made to confute Cobbett's terrible indictment of English Protestantism.

As a sample of our author's vigorous style, we may quote his onslaught on the modern panacea of social woes, Malthusianism:

"Enough now about the celibacy of the clergy; but it is impossible to quit the subject without one word to Parson Malthus. This man is not only a Protestant, but a parson of our church. Now he wants to compel the laboring classes to refrain to a great extent from marriage, and Mr. Scarlett actually brought a bill into Parliament having in one part of it this object avowedly in view, the great end proposed by both being to cause a diminution of the poor-rates. Parson Malthus does not call this recommending celibacy, but 'moral restraint.' And what is celibacy but moral restraint? So that here are these people reviling the Catholic Church for insisting on vows of celibacy on the part of those who choose to be priests or nuns, and at the same time proposing to compel the laboring classes to live in a state of celibacy or to run the manifest risk of perishing (they and their children) from starvation! Is all this sheer impudence or is it sheer folly? One or the other it is, greater than ever was before heard from the lips of mortal man. They affect to believe that the clerical vow of celibacy must be nugatory. Like all the other wild schemes and cruel projects relative to the poor, we trace this at once back to the 'Reformation,' that great source of the poverty and misery and degradation of the main body of the people of this kingdom. The 'Reformation' despoiled the working classes of their patrimony; it tore from them that which nature and reason had assigned them; it robbed them of that relief for the necessitous which was theirs by right imprescriptable, and which had been confirmed to them by the law of God and the law of the land. It brought a compulsory, a grudging, an unnatural mode of relief, calculated to make the poor and rich hate each other instead of binding them together as the Catholic mode did, by the bonds of Christian charity. But of all its consequences, that of introducing a married clergy has perhaps been the most prolific in mischief. This has absolutely created an order for the procreation of dependents on the state; for the bringing into the world thousands of persons annually who have no fortunes of their own, and who must be, somehow or other, maintained by burdens imposed upon the people. Places, commissions, sinecures, pensions; something or other must be found for them, some sort of living out of the fruit of the rents of the rich and the wages of labor. If no excuse can be found, no pretence of public service, no corner of the pension list open, then they must come as a direct burden upon the people; and thus it is that

we have, within the last twenty years, seen sixteen hundred thousand pounds voted by the Parliament out of the taxes for the 'relief of the poor clergy of the Church of England'; and at the very time that this premium on the procreation of idlers was annually being granted, Parliament was pestered with projects for compelling the working part of the community to lead a life of celibacy! What that is evil, what that is monstrous, has not grown out of this Protestant 'Reformation!' "

This language is certainly strong, and on the lips of a Catholic would sound uncharitable, but, coming from a Protestant indignant at the vile language used by his co-religionists in their revilings against the "man of sin" and the "scarlet whore," they strike us as a just Nemesis. Father Gasquet has, however, taken the liberty to cut out freely the nicknames of which the author had made copious use, and has replaced an occasional strong or coarse expression here and there by some less objectionable word or phrase.

We return sincere thanks to Father Gasquet for this valuable edition of a book which ought not to be allowed to die out, and we hope it will be scattered broadcast throughout both hemispheres.

Beati Petri Canisii, Societatis Jesu, Epistulae et Acta. Collegit et adnotationibus illustravit *Otto Braunsberger*, ejusdem Societatis sacerdos. Volumen primum. 1541–1556. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder.

In giving the correct answer to that "most curious and important question" propounded by Macaulay: "How it was that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more; how it was that the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost"; the indefatigable labors of Blessed Peter Canisius instantly rise to mind as, under heaven, one of the most powerful agents.

The birth of this new Apostle of the North was contemporaneous with the first outbreak of the Lutheran epidemic. He saw the light of day in the quaint old Dutch town of Nimwegen on the 8th of May, 1521. Educated at the University of Cologne, he received the degree of Master in Philosophy, and consecrated himself to a life of perpetual chastity in the year 1540. Three years later he placed himself under the direction of P. Peter Faber, whom St. Ignatius had depatched into Germany, and after making the spiritual exercises was admitted to the Society as the first German Jesuit. It is a signal proof of the esteem in which he was universally held, that at the age of twenty-five years he was chosen by the clergy of Cologne as their embassador to the court of the emperor in their effort to rid themselves of the apostate archbishop, Hermann von Wied. Two years later he appears at the Council of Trent as theologian to Cardinal Otto of Augsburg. Perceiving his solid worth, St. Ignatius called him to Rome, and kept him for five months under his own supervision. After receiving his solemn vows, the saint despatched him to the permanent field of his labors, distracted Germany. His subsequent history is thoroughly identified with the struggle of Catholicity to stem the flood of Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy in the North. As provincial of his order, as adviser of the German emperor, as representative of the Holy See, he was general-in-chief of the Catholic forces, and was equally efficient in the professor's chair, in the pulpit, in the children's catechism class and in the cabinet of princes. After three centuries, "Canisius's Catechism" remains the bulwark of Catholicity against modern heresy.

The writings of so prominent a champion of true religion are, there-

fore, indispensable to the historian of German Protestantism, and we are delighted that the task of collecting them has been entrusted to so able and diligent an investigator as Father Braunsberger. It will give the reader a vague notion of the labor involved, when he is told that the compilation of the work has entailed researches in two hundred and sixty archives and libraries scattered through England, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Holland, Italy, Portugal, and Sweden. It is estimated that the work, containing everything of interest relating to Canisius, will be completed in from six to eight large octavo volumes. We have no hesitation in prophesying that it will be regarded as one of the most important contributions to Catholic historical investigations in the present generation.

The first volume contains 214 letters written by or to Canisius, and 125 documents concerning him, from the first extant letter, written by him in 1541, at the age of twenty, to his sister, to the middle of the year 1556, when he was at the height of his influence at the court of Ferdinand. In editing, Father B. retains in the text the original language in which Canisius wrote; but when any other language than Latin is used he inserts a Latin translation at the foot of the page.

It is needless for us to add that we return our sincerest thanks to the editor and the publisher, and recommend the work most warmly to our readers.

History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages. By *Ferdinand Gregorovius.* Translated from the fourth German edition by Annie Hamilton. Vols. I., II., III. London: George Bell & Sons.

It is now nearly forty years since Ferdinand Gregorovius published the first edition of his well-known work, "Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter," which secured for him a permanent place among the great historical writers of this and every other age. He had the extremely rare gift of uniting the tastes of the antiquarian and the litterateur. He was equally at home among the musty parchments of an out-of-the-way monastery, or in the most brilliant assembly of artists and poets. Italy, in all her relations and aspects, past and present, her skies, mountains, lakes, buried cities, crumbling monuments, the interesting customs of her people, Italy was the goddess of his devotions; and as he spent year after year in that sunny clime, he became ever more infatuated with everything belonging to it. Still, he remained to the last a German and a Lutheran, an alien both in race and religion to the people whose deeds he undertook to narrate.

And more's the pity; for it may take a full century to give to the world one so fully equipped by nature and study for the task of portraying mediæval Rome as Ferdinand Gregorovius, whose facile pen could invest the dullest subject with a subtle charm. He has made the iron age of humanity and of Rome *readable*, and any one who is conversant with the history of the ninth and tenth centuries is aware what a task that was. He has said many hard things of the Popes in the course of his writing; but no harder than Baronius and other good Catholic authors. Indeed, he, on frequent occasions, defends the character of some unfortunate Pope or dignitary whom his own had abandoned to insult and infamy.

Gregorovius will generally be found fair to individuals; and in this he is quite different from the English Protestant writers, who are wont to vent their hatred of the papacy upon every one who at any time has worn the tiara. Neither does the distinguished German historian mani-

fest any purely theological bias; in fact, his own Christianity seems to have been of too vague a kind to engender hatred of others. But he has a virulent, unrelenting, unconcealed hatred of the temporal power of the Popes; insomuch, that the entire history would seem to have been written to maintain the paradox, that all the ills that have oppressed the human race since the days of Pepin are to be traced to the Pope's temporal sovereignty.

What would have become of the papacy had it not been independent during the turbulent middle ages, Gregorovius does not discuss; though the question must immediately force itself upon every one who devotes a serious thought to the condition of affairs which brought forth the States of the Church, and kept them intact for so many centuries.

However, the historian's personal views as to the fitness of things in general are of secondary importance; what we chiefly demand from him is a truthful exposition of facts; and we do not remember to have met any cases in which Gregorovius can be accused of having wilfully distorted facts to suit his theories.

Of course, historical investigation has made great progress since the first edition of this work appeared in 1859. The author was continually engaged until his death in 1891, in revising it and bringing it down to date in every point. It has been the starting-point of subsequent writers; and it sometimes seems to us that later writers take a particular delight in being able to point out flaws in its statements; but it will be a long time before it will be superseded, and we are much pleased to welcome it in its English garb.

A Complete Manual of Canon Law. By *Oswald J. Reichel, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A.* Volume I., The Sacraments. 1896. London: John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand.

We have fallen in with many a strange book, but a queerer book than a canon law, written by a clergyman of the Church of England, it has not been our fortune to find. As we turned over page after page, replete with erudition, we were forcibly reminded of the rebuke administered to Moses by his hard-headed father-in-law: "Thou art spent with foolish labor." *Cui bono*, all this playing at legislation? In what "branch of the Church Catholic" would this book pass for an authority? Certainly not in the "Roman branch"; for any school-boy could point out dozens of flagrant errors. Not in Greece, nor in Russia, nor even in England, where the only canon obeyed is the sweet will of the individual. How much more logical was Martin Luther, who gathered up all the law books of "Babylon," and made a grand bonfire out of them?

The distinguished author may complain that we are not meeting him in the spirit in which he approaches us; for he has protested at the outset that he publishes this manual "in the hope" that it "may contribute in some small degree to help forward that unity for which Christ prayed by diminishing the prejudice, misunderstanding and ignorance which is so largely responsible for the present divided state of Christendom." But the Church has suffered so much from so-called Canonists, who have opposed their whims and theories to her authoritative voice, that we would look forward with utter dismay to the importation of a fresh batch of them from the ranks of Anglicanism. To a Catholic, *law* is a very solemn and imperative affair, upon which depends the salvation of his soul. Our *norma vivendi* is given by the supreme voice of authority, not fished by the individual out of the ponderous tomes of fathers and schoolmen. Whatever worth this book contains (and we have no wish

to disparage the author's merits) is of purely antiquarian interest. When, yielding to the voice of conscience, he shall join the Catholic Church, he will be obliged to make humble submission to church authority like the rest of us. Imagine him dealing with the law of the land with the freedom in which he indulges himself in spiritual matters. The result must be laughter at his theories, and imprisonment if he undertook to put them in practice.

It is interesting to notice that our Anglican canonist begins his treatise where Catholic writers usually leave off, at the Sacraments. We shall be better able to appreciate his ironical spirit after we shall read what he shall have to say concerning the nature and sources of ecclesiastical authority. At present we are totally in the dark regarding his views on the most fundamental questions of his subject. It is undoubtedly true, as he states, that misunderstandings and ignorance are largely responsible for the actual divisions among Christians; but the main factor, unless we err, is that restlessness under authority innate in our fallen nature.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIÆ MORALIS A JOANNE PETRO GURY, S.J, PRIMO CONSCRIPTUM ET DEINDE AB ANTONIO BALLERINI, EJUSDEM SOCIETATIS, ADNOTATIONIBUS AUCTUM, NUNC VERO AD BREVIOREM FORMAM EXARATUM ATQUE AD USUM SEMINARIORUM HUJUS REGIONIS ACCOMMODATUM. Ab *Aloysio Sabetti, S.J.* Editio duodecimo novis curis expolitior. Fr. Pustet & Co., Ratisbon, New York and Cincinnati. 1896.

We announce with much pleasure the appearance of the *twelfth* edition of Father Sabetti's admirable Compendium of Moral Theology, the merits of which have been dwelt upon so frequently in our pages that further commendation is unnecessary. The best evidence of the value of the work is the rapidity with which each successive edition is taken up by the clergy of the nation, who look to the learned Professor at Woodstock, and never look in vain, for a clear, satisfactory and concise solution of the doubts which arise in the course of their sacred ministrations.

Turning to page 782, we are not certain that we fully understand the author's interpretation of the clause in the decree of January 18, 1896, which reserves to the Apostolic Delegate the decision regarding the verification of the conditions which justify a confessor in granting absolution without exacting a formal renunciation of the three societies lately condemned. If we remember rightly, the decree does not prescribe this reference to the Delegate *in singulis casibus*, as the learned author seems to imply, but *in casibus particularibus*, which is generally interpreted to mean in cases where there exists a doubt as to the application of the four conditions demanded by the Holy See. As the majority of these cases meet us at the death-beds of penitents, it is obvious that the *recursus* to the Delegate *toties quoties* is absolutely impossible. Nor will the "desired uniformity" be lacking, if confessors adhere scrupulously to the terms of the decree. This appears to us so self-evident that we are convinced it is also the author's view, and we refer to it merely for the purpose of putting our readers on their guard against a possible misinterpretation of his words.

COCHEM'S EXPLANATION OF THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. With an Appendix containing Devotions for Mass, for Confession, and for Communion. With a Preface by *Right Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D.D.*, Bishop of Covington. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. Price, $1.25.

"This is a very old-fashioned book," says the Right Rev. Bishop of

Covington; "a book written with that sturdy faith and solid devotional feeling which knows no doubt, and acknowledges God's best work with a thankful heart. It will be refreshing reading to our nineteenth century public, the majority of which lives and acts as if God were not nigh unto us, and His saving sacrifice were not the real immolation of His body and the actual spilling of His blood."

The author, Father Martin, of the Capuchin order, called of Cochem, from his birth-place on the Moselle, was one of the saintliest and most energetic missionaries of the seventeenth century. In addition to the ordinary labors of the ministry, he devoted himself to the compilation of a very large number of religious books for the people, which, in their day, enjoyed a popularity almost unprecedented. The work which now appears before us with the weighty recommendation of Bishop Maes, is acknowledged as his masterpiece. It unites, with rare skill, accurate theological doctrine, extensive reading of the Fathers and theologians, and charming simplicity of style. It would be uncalled for in us to raise the delicate question whether the value of the work would not be increased by omitting some of the legends which the author has inserted after the custom of his age. The opening remarks of Bishop Maes were evidently intended to forestall any ungracious criticisms of this sort. But while illustrative stories of doubtful authenticity were in consonance with the tastes of people two hundred years ago, they would certainly be out of place in any new publication at the present time; nor do we perceive the connection between faith and credulity. The Catholics of to-day believe as firmly in the Real Presence as did those who were ever on the alert for visible miracles. Few books there are, which, in the course of two centuries, do not stand in need of a little remodelling, as Father Martin, who was the embodiment of sturdy common sense, would be the first to recognize.

GOFFINE'S DEVOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS. With a Preface by *His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons*. New York: Benziger Bros. Price, $1.00.

In order to meet the demand for Catholic publications at extremely low rates, the enterprising firm of Benziger Brothers has reissued the "Devout Instructions" of Goffine, a work which has been deservedly popular for two centuries, and have placed the retail price at one dollar, promising large reductions for quantities. This is certainly as low a price as the most exacting buyer can expect for a large octavo volume of 704 pages, copiously illustrated, printing, binding, and illustrations being of the finest character. The work itself needs no commendation from us at this late date. It is a complete arsenal for our Catholic people, explaining in simple language the life and teachings of Our Lord, the doctrines of Holy Church, the commandments and sacraments, the meaning of the current epistles and gospels, and, moreover, supplying them with ample material for meditation, and a judicious selection of prayers. We can only hope that the enterprise of the publishers will meet with the success which it deserves in so extensive a sale as to reimburse them for their heavy outlay, and encourage them to proceed in editing standard works at greatly reduced rates. Should the present attempt issue in failure, we shall be obliged to take the part of the publishers against a querulous public.

CATHARINE MCAULEY AND THE SISTERS OF MERCY. A Sketch. By *K. M. Barry* With preface by Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J. Dublin: Fallon & Son.

"No apology," says Father Finlay, "is needed for the publication of another book on the life and work of Catharine McAuley. It is a subject which will not be easily exhausted, and on which, we may be assured, future writers will yet have much to say. The undertaking of charity which the Christian Church owes to this remarkable woman is far from having reached its last development. Its growth has been rapid beyond what merely natural influences can account for. As a nun, Mother McAuley had but ten years in which to lay the foundation and guide the beginning of the great organization of mercy which looks to her as its foundress. It is now barely half a century since those ten years of effort closed, and the busy worker was laid to rest in the courtyard of her Dublin convent. And already it has become an impossibility to gauge accurately the expansion of the work she left behind her. Twenty years years after her death one hundred and fifty-five convents of the Order of Mercy were at work in the Church, established in every region of the earth into which the English-speaking people had carried Christianity."

The present little book undertakes, within the compass of one hundred pages, to narrate the most important facts of the life of this excellent servant of God.

THE CHRISTIAN INHERITANCE. Set forth in Sermons by the *Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B.*, Bishop of Newport, London: Burns and Oates, Limited. Received from Benziger Bros. Price, $1.60.

Under this vague title the learned and eloquent Bishop of Newport has gathered together twenty-two sermons preached by him on various occasions. The bond of union among them, and the justification for the title-page, is the fundamental character which assimilates them; for they are all of that nature known as *dogmatic* or *apologetic*, a species of sermon well worth cultivating in this inquisitive and sceptical age. Those of our readers who are of opinion that the fundamental truths of religion are too abstruse for the general public ought to make a study of these admirable discourses of Bishop Hedley, where they will find a rare union of deep and accurate theology, and a popular style, "understandable of the people." For ourselves, after reading them we are more convinced than ever that the profoundest truths can be made easily intelligible to an ordinary audience if proper care be taken to express the thought in every day language. Dogmatic sermons are increasingly in demand; and we shall henceforth commend young orators to the Bishop of Newport as the most perfect type of the pulpit orator demanded by the times.

ALETHEA: AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS. By "Cyril." Published by Burns & Oates, London.

An historical romance treating of the separation of the Eastern from the Roman Church. All the important characters in that eventful schism, Nicholas I., Ignatius, Photius, Bardas, Cæsar and Michael III., are vividly portrayed. The accommodating Photius is painted in dark colors, but his inhuman cruelty to Ignatius, his insincerity and hypocrisy to the Pope, as seen by his letters, justify the picture and accord with his acts as attested by the historian. The reader will find much to

interest and perhaps stimulate him to a fuller study of this period of Church history, and to the people and customs of ninth century Constantinople. The romance woven around the characters shows much imagination and skill. The modern tone given to the story is, perhaps, its most noticeable fault, but the author is aware of this, and in his closing chapter gives two reasons why he made his story read like a romance of our date. The work is neatly gotten up in two volumes.

THE SCIENCE OF SPIRITUAL LIFE ACCORDING TO THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES. By *James Clare, S.J.* Received from Benziger Bros., New York. Price, $1.60, net.

"Just as the Sacred Scriptures, if they are to be of practical utility, and are to exercise an influence on our minds and hearts, require that their meaning be explained to us by legitimate and God-guided interpreters," so, too, argues the author, the Exercises of St. Ignatius must be interpreted by competent authority, by the living voice of a director, if possible; otherwise, by the written commentary. It is a valuable companion to any one making the exercises.

LYRA HIERATICA. Poems on the Priesthood. Collected from Many Sources. By *Rev. T. E. Bridgett*, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Price, $1.00, net.

The routine of priestly duties is, to the ordinary mortal, so prosaic, that this beautiful collection of poems bearing on the dignity and duties of the priesthood, phases of priestly life and priestly devotions, will come to the jaded missionary like the strains of angelic music. We have had the little book for some time in our possession and always find inspiration and refreshment in its pages.

PEOPLE'S EDITION OF THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS. By the *Rev. Alban Butler.* Published in Twelve Parts. Each Part containing the Saints of the Month. January—Vol. I. London: Burns and Oates, Limited.

We have received through the courtesy of Messrs. Benziger the first volume of this pocket edition of Butler's great Lives of the Saints. Except that the print is rather too fine for our weak vision, we regard it as one of the most acceptable gifts of the season. We recommend it warmly to all those who are desirous of bringing with them in their journeys an edifying and instructive companion.

FLÜGEL-SCHMIDT-TANGER'S SCHOOL AND HAND-LEXICON OF THE GERMAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES. Two volumes. Large 8vo. Half leather. 1896. New York. Introduction price, net, $4.50; each part separately, net, $2.60.

A few years ago Flügel published a large English-German and German-English dictionary in three octavo volumes. The present work is an abridgement of the larger dictionary for ready reference and school use. There has been a strong and increasing demand for just such a dictionary, as the dictionaries in commou use were far from satisfactory.

WETZER UND WELTE'S KIRCHEN-LEXICON. Freiberg and St. Louis: Herder. 1896.

We are in receipt of the one hundred and fifth number of this great lexicon. The word is now brought down to *Revolution, French*, and there is every indication of the speedy termination of the long labors of the revisers.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

SAINTS OF THE ORDER OF S. BENEDICT. Vol. I. January, February, March. From the Latin of F. Ægidius Ranbeck, O.S.B. Edited by *Very Rev. J. Alphinsus Morrall, O.S.B.* London: John Hodges, Bedford Street, Strand. 1896.

OUR MARTYRS: A record of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith under the Penal Laws in Ireland. By the late *Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J.* Illustrated from contemporary prints. Dublin: Fallon & Co. 1896. Price, six shillings.

WHY I BECAME A CATHOLIC; OR, RELIGIO VIATORIS. By *Henry Edward Manning*, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Sixth edition. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Received from Benziger Brothers. Price, 30 cents, net.

QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KUNSTGESCHICHTE DES MISSALE ROMANUM IM MITTELALTER. ITER ITALICUM. Von *Dr. Adalbert Ebner.* Friedburg and St. Louis: Herder. 1896. Price, $3.50 net.

A RECORD OF THE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS HELD IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE IN JUNE, 1895. Compiled by the author of the "Centenary History of Maynooth College." Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Limited. 1896.

THE LEAGUE HYMNAL. A collection of Sacred Heart Hymns. By *Rev. William Walsh, S.J.* Published by the Apostleship of Prayer, 27 and 29 West Sixteenth Street, New York. Retail price, $1.00.

HOW TO SPEAK LATIN. A Series of Latin Dialogues with English Translation. By *Stephen W. Wilby.* John Murphy & Co., Baltimore, 44 W. Baltimore Street; New York, 70 Fifth Avenue. 1896.

THE SPIRIT OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER ILLUSTRATED FROM THE LIVES OF ITS SAINTS. By *Mother Frances Raphael, O.SD.*. (Augusta Theodosia Drane). Benzinger Bros. 1896. Price, $1 net.

JOSEPHI FESSLER INSTITUTIONES PATROLOGIAE quas denuo recensuit, auxit, edidit *Bernardus Jungmann.* Tomi II., Pars altera. Innsbruck: 1896. Received from Pustet & Co.

EN ROUTE. By *J. K. Huysmans.* Translated from the French, with a Prefatory Note by C. Kegan Paul. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. Price, $1.50, net.

OUR SEMINARIES. An Essay on Clerical Training. By *Rev. John Talbot Smith LL.D.* New York: William H. Young & Co. Price, $1.

A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land. By *Rev. H. F. Fairbanks.* Fourth edition. Illustrated. Benziger Bros. Price, $1.50.

First Communion. Edited by *Father Thurston, S.J.* London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Received from Benzinger Brothers.

Songs, Chiefly From the German. By *J. L. Spalding*, Bishop of Peoria. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company. 1896.

Books and Reading. By *Brother Azarias.* Fifth Edition, enlarged. New York: The Cathedral Library Association. 1896.

Are Anglican Orders Valid? By *J. MacDavitt, D.D.* Dublin: Lealy, Bryens & Walker. Received from Benziger Bros.

Father Furniss and His Work for Children, By *Rev. T. Livius, C.SS.R.* Benziger Bros. Price, 75 cents.

Primer of Philosophy. By *Dr. Paul Carus.* Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company. Cloth. $1.00.

Le Cardinal Manning. Par *Francis de Pressensé.* Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1896.

Notice to Contributors.

Articles for the American Catholic Quarterly Review—(*a*) should be sent in neatly type-written; (*b*) they should not exceed twenty pages of the magazine; and (*c*) no serials will be permitted without special arrangements with the Editors.

70753

PERIODICAL

DOES NOT CIRCULATE

THIS BOOK MAY NOT BE
TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM